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FEMINISM

A Sociological Study of the Woman Question from Ancient Times to the Present Day

BY

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TO THE MEMORY OF

MY FATHER

NIELS KNUDSEN

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FEMINISM

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Let us call any truth false that had not a laugh in it.—Nietzsche, *Thus Spake Zarathustra.*

TWENTY years ago, when I was a young graduate in political economy, I was sitting one evening in Munich in the well-known students' and artists' tavern "Simplicissimus" (now closed), in the company of colleagues and professors of the Maximilian University. On my left hand I had my tutor, Professor Lujo Brentano, who by certain ostensibly aphoristic, in reality scientifically conclusive, remarks to me on the movement towards concentration in German industry had given me a more intimate knowledge of the system of trusts and cartels than all the more or less learned books I had at that time devoured on this important subject. Suddenly I was aroused from my reflections by my neighbour on the right, a young Japanese doctor, who, like myself, was studying economics at the School of Political Economy in the Munich University, but had already spent several years in Europe, especially in England, in order to make himself acquainted with such elements of our civilization as might be useful

to Japan; for instance, the heavy artillery of the British battle fleet, on which subject he had just been lecturing in the school—an evidence of the catholicity of its German directors, Professors Brentano and Lotz. "Look here, Dr. Knudsen," he said; "there is a question that continually puzzles me in European civilization, which on other points I believe I understand pretty well; but I have put this problem to a number of highly cultivated Europeans without result. However, I am sure that *you* will be able to give me the correct answer."—"You honour me too much," I replied; "without being a modest man, I am far from claiming the ability to answer a question which you have put in vain to everyone else."—"Well, my question is a perfectly simple one: *Why do you European men treat and regard your women with such respect, often amounting to adoration?*"

The explosion which one morning a few years later blew half the front of the house where I was living in Paris (Rue Laferrière) across the street and lifted me out of bed, did not produce anything like such an impression on me as this apparently harmless but, in its essence and consequences, terrible question.

I need not explain to any white man that I too was then at a loss for an answer, but I shall never forget the mischievous smile which slowly spread over his shrewd yellow face on witnessing my unfeigned and speechless astonishment. But I am everlastingly grateful to him for this question, which brought me with a jerk face to face with a subject I had always regarded unreflectingly as pertaining to the class of things of which old Professor Kroman remarked in another connection:

"What you say is to such a degree right that I can't find a single word in its defence."

But in the world of thought nothing is a matter of course; it is quite another thing that human perception, by reason of its form and nature, is forced to adopt certain indemonstrable assumptions, even in the most abstract domains, in order to get on at all.

But it was obvious that the Japanese doctor's question had a meaning, indeed a very profound one, and called for an answer—to the effect, for instance, that the white woman was superior to the white man in every department of manual or intellectual work, in wisdom and goodness, in talent and endurance, in art and science, and so on, so that he was obliged to acknowledge and respect her as a higher being; or if not, his respect and adoration must be due to entirely different causes, which in that case were without traceable connection with her value as a human being. This inescapable alternative set me to work with an explorer's ardour. Two civilizations, the East Asiatic and the European, each with its fundamentally different view of the female partner, rose in opposition within me, and since then I have collected material year by year, country by country, literature by literature, studied men and women of all nations and all classes of society, with the exclusive object of one day being able to find the answer to a question which not only has never been answered, but has never even been properly put as regards European civilization, for which it is nevertheless a matter of vital moment. It is the duty of a scientific enquirer to shun no pains, no suffering, no misinterpretation which the treatment

of so human, " all too human," a subject may involve; when once the problem is stated it must be sifted to the very bottom, without other consideration than that of finding out the truth. Whether I have now found it the reader must judge when I have finished what I have to say; but of one thing I can assure him or her in advance: I shall say nothing beyond what I know, just as, in an old Danish saying, even the prettiest girl can't give more than she's got; every hypothesis shall be tested, every prejudice and assumption, however beautiful and sanctified by tradition, must in this book pass through the purgatorial fires of doubt which that Japanese kindled within me twenty years ago. I have lived long enough to know that nothing incites people to indignant denial so much as meddling with their habitual ideas, the more in proportion to the stupidity of those ideas; and until two years ago it was my intention to postpone the publication of this squaring of accounts between two opposed views of Woman until I was an old man, far removed from the noise and strife of this world, preferably until I had one foot in the grave and could be sure at least of being taken as one who spoke *sine ira et cura*. But in the last year or two the feminist movement in Europe, the tendency not only to assume instinctively and without proof the equality of Woman,* but frequently even her superior value in many ways, as compared with Man, has made such headway as

* As long ago as 1908 we defined Feminism (in *Formerelse og Fremskridt*—" Increase and Progress ") as the epitome of all efforts which depend upon the ignoring or denial of biologically established psychological sex-peculiarities and differences, with all their social and economic consequences.

has never been witnessed since the ancient Hellenic culture's lowest period of degeneration. Our whole social life, in so far as it is constructed upon a moral, economic and legal regulation of the relations between the sexes, is in process of being reorganized and consolidated on precisely the basis that Woman is in all respects Man's equal, in many his superior. One can scarcely take up a book, a newspaper or a law without constantly lighting upon something or other which assumes this equality or superiority as the most natural thing in the world. It seems therefore high time to put this fundamental assumption to the test, which is the same thing as answering the problem stated by the Japanese scholar.

Turning now to the problem in the form he gave it, we shall, for the sake of argument, accept his premises before coming to the question itself. These premises are that the white man—more narrowly defined as the Nordic type of European man (tall, slender figure, long legs, especially the tibia, blue eyes, fair hair, narrow face, straight or slightly curved nose with high root, long skull, etc.), chiefly represented in Scandinavia, Germany, Britain, Northern France and Northern Italy, to some extent also in Northern Russia—in greater or less contradistinction to all other races on earth, vouchsafes to his woman a consideration, a kindness, an esteem and a respect verging on worship, a belief in her humanity and human value, an etherealization of her nature which is calculated to take away the breath of even the most devoted lover, when once his eyes have been opened to the uniqueness, among all races and in all periods,

of this phenomenon, of this white man's psychic axiom in his relation to Woman. For that it is innate in him we shall see directly. Some will think that these premises require no documentation: we all know that the greater part of Northern European literature, from the troubadour lays of the age of chivalry to Johannes V. Jensen's psychological epics of civilization, from the high-flown romantic to the sober realistic, from Madonna worship to Darwinism, is sustained by this undercurrent of an enthusiasm and devotion beyond all bounds of reason for Woman as such. But in this essay we shall make no assumptions at all, be they never so sublime or never so banal, without further investigation, and therefore we begin with this. As we cannot fill tomes with examples, we shall take a couple from the commencement and the close of this literary tendency.

From the art of the troubadours down through the romances of the Middle Ages to our own days we find almost everywhere an entirely unbalanced glorification of Woman's physical and psychical superiority. Let us begin with a sample of the troubadour period, incomparably described in Professor Valdemar Vedel's work on *Chivalrous Romanticism in Medieval France and Germany*. The troubadours emphasize, in the first place, the eyes, the glance, the lips and the smile as an expression of " picturesquely charming and spiritually erotic beauty." The mouth has full lips, which smile sweetly and laugh deliciously (" *mollia spondens risus*," says a poet, a religious one too, as early as the year 1100); it invites kisses (" *küssenlich*," says Wolfram von Eschenbach, who was by no means the purely platonic

votary of love that Wagner represents him to be in *Tannhäuser*, but, on the contrary, was as well acquainted with the secrets of the Venusberg as his rival). But special praises are given to the complexion—" its radiant splendour, of a whiteness like that of the white thorn or of ivory, or like a wild rose, where the white delicately shades into pink." Further, " the straight, white throat, whose skin, according to a German poet, is so clear that when she drinks, the wine causes a visible flush as it goes down. The small, firm breasts, two walnuts small enough to be enclosed in the hand, or turned as in a lathe. The shoulders straight and flexible as reeds. The long arms, the shapely white hands with delicate, smooth fingers, the nails bright as a mirror. The waist slender, the abdomen round and slightly protuberant, the hips broad," and so on. We shall here cut short the troubadours' description of the white woman's physical perfections, for fear of getting on some people's nerves, as the troubadours were not always content to stop halfway when they wanted to convince their contemporaries of Woman's value, and did not shrink from a literal *argumentum ad hominem*. But what we have cited above is enough to give a thoughtful person pause. Are these praises even approximately truthful or tenable? Let us take the breast, which when well formed makes a strong and immediate impression of beauty on most healthy men; although a good many, as I was told by my deceased friend the sculptor Hasselriis * in Rome one

* Chief works: the statue of Sören Kierkegaard, at once intellectually noble and profoundly modest, in the garden of the Royal Library at Copenhagen, and the marvellously beautiful

day in 1910, regard a really well-shaped back as the highest revelation of female beauty. Every anthropologist knows that four conditions are necessary to produce a shapely breast: the thorax must be somewhat high; the muscles connecting the shoulder with the breast-bone must be well developed; the breasts themselves not too big, and in addition placed fairly high. Even an otherwise shapely breast will droop if the supports (the upper ribs and the breast-bone) are too flat to carry it, and the same thing will happen if it is not supported by well-developed thoracic muscles. Now all these physical conditions are seldom present in the white woman. At most one in ten fulfils *one* of these conditions. On the theory of probabilities we may therefore calculate the occurrence of women who simultaneously fulfil all four as $\frac{1}{10^4}$ = one in ten thousand. This is confirmed by experience; every painter, every sculptor will agree that even at the age of twenty it is very difficult to find a shapely model and almost impossible to find a physically faultless, perfectly beautiful woman. On closer inspection there is always something amiss somewhere. And of course Woman cannot help this; we only insist on it as evidence of the transcendental, imaginative overrating of the other sex, beginning in the physical field, which seems inseparably connected with the white man's psyche and is reflected in literature as well as in other branches of art. Not one woman in ten thousand can compare with the Venus of Milo of

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statue of the Empress Elisabeth with the poet Heine, originally in the Palace gardens at Corfu, but removed by the Emperor William; I believe it is now at Hamburg.

400 B.C. or with Saabye's Susanna in the Copenhagen Museum, to take a modern example.

But even above her external appearance the troubadours had already begun to exalt Woman's nature and social attraction. "Her witty speech and sweet song; she knows how to talk and behave agreeably, she is amiable in all her ways, even among the best she excites a thousandfold sense of charm" (Vedel, p. 123). It is true that a great many of these troubadours, like Wolfram, were practised eroticians and knew very well what they were about in their ceaseless flattery of women, but a large and important section of these woman-worshippers carried their romanticism so far that Woman could keep them going with no more than an occasional kiss of friendship. Peire Rogier's homage to the Vicomtesse Ermengarde of Narbonne is a characteristic instance. "He is content with her smile and her jest; more, he knows, is not for him, nor has he ever desired 'facta' of his lady, but the mere sight of her makes him rich and happy. 'So will I love without possession, and I have as much honour and joy thereof as if *that* were true which in reality is not.'" He goes so far as to teach people that, even if their own eyes witness the faults committed by their mistress, they are not to believe their eyes, but to place implicit reliance on her word! And many more of them are tainted with this subservience, disgusting to any sane man or—I should imagine—girl.

It is useless to object that this almost morbid adoration of Woman is exceptional and now on the point of disappearing. It is true that this, like other idealiza-

tions of Woman, is particularly marked in the poetry of the troubadours, but the tendency is very often present even among more temperate writers, and the same holds good at the present day. As an instance in point, there was recently published a Danish novel by Thorkil Barfod (*Den blaa Sommerfugl*—"The Blue Butterfly") which in this respect yields nothing to Peire Rogier, Peire Raimon or Arnant de Maruelh in thirteenth-century France. In this novel Barfod describes a love affair between his hero, the airman Frode, and an innocent young thing called Sif. He comes on a chance visit to her family, they fall in love at the first dance; the very next morning he comes upon her asleep in the garden room (as there is no spare room, she has given up hers to him); without making any bones about it he walks in, pulls off the blankets and kisses her as boldly as can be managed before waking a girl of nineteen to the full possession of her senses.

Anyone who has got beyond the ABC of love, and is still prepared to make concessions for the sake of taking Man and Woman *au sérieux* as long as possible, will do his best to look for some rational outcome of this. Not such a bad beginning, you are ready to admit: now the engagement will be announced at breakfast, the banns put up at lunch, in three weeks they will be married; and whether they are eventually divorced, like so many people, or keep together—which is perhaps more likely in their case than in most—they will at any rate have spared each other all the bother and erotic nausea entailed by the regular siege of a three years' engagement. If only the girl doesn't

let out a screech and get him arrested for attempted rape!—and how should she know any better? But it is *she* who confounds our expectations: she looks at him in surprise, but replies calmly to *his* quickly awakening scruples—"But wasn't it lovely!" Still you do not abandon the hope that she will turn out right, although the succeeding days produce nothing but a series of sweltering scenes, in which, however, his ideality (!) always holds him back at the decisive moment. Since her instinct is in any case healthier than his ideality, she goes so far on the third day as to say the (one would think) liberating word herself: "Take me then."

At this point Barfod's hero collapses altogether: such noble self-sacrifice he will not, cannot accept, etc., etc., with the natural result that she exclaims in desperation: "So you didn't even want me for *that!*" (good—rather too good—as the answer of a nineteen-year-old innocent!). After that you can guess that she takes up with another man and that he flies away with his exalted idealism and his 100-h.p. Daimler motor into the concluding apotheosis of liberation: "Then he was never more tempted to grasp with hands and senses for what was to be only a dream. Now she was his. Inalienable and true, so long as he let her smile shine in his heart. Even if another believed he possessed her, what did he possess but a shell, an image!" Is there any real difference between this pitiful hero (and I leave open the question which was the more pitiful: that he began by playing his strongest erotic trump, though he neither wished nor dared to win the game, or that, having made such

an energetic opening, he did not accept all the consequences, if not for his own sake, at least for the girl's, a quite ordinary girl, but much too good for such tomfoolery) and the troubadour Peire Raimon, who sings: "I would approach her on my knees and implore her favour with tears, begging her merely to honour me with permission to behold as a suppliant her shapely, graceful form"?

I do not know Thorkil Barfod, I like his poems; I do not want to pillory his book in particular, it is no worse than a lot of other hyper-feminist rubbish; I simply wish to show that there is nothing to choose between his work and that of the troubadours as regards this idolization of Woman, which is constantly jumping the rails—the white man's innate extravagant notion of the absolute value and peculiar nature of the other sex; and this was, in fact, the premise that was to be established before our investigation could begin. And lest it should be said that this psyche is confined to certain hyper-romantic masculine natures, we shall conclude by pointing to its occurrence in the realist Johannes V. Jensen. In his art, whose most powerful charm is its profound union of realism and idealism, this idealization finds an expression which, not in my opinion alone, is unsurpassed in contemporary literature, and which no white man, whether he agree with Jensen or not, can read without the deepest emotion. For the sake of brevity we shall here only quote the beginning and the end, assuming that most readers will know the poem from Johannes V. Jensen's greatest masterpiece: *The Long Journey* (*Christopher Columbus*).

"Torches of the stars eternal
Burn before thy heart, O Mother,
Who hast freed the world's repining.

Round thy head the spheres of heaven,
In thy heart the living waters,
Wonder-working thou, God's Mother!

Depths of innocence we dream of,
Girt about with streams of gladness,
Well of goodness never empty!

Thou the one whose soul reposes
In itself; the world unheeding
Thou dost dwell in brightness, smiling.

* * * * *

What in all the realm of Nature
Is like beauty, beauteous Maiden,
Eyes' delight, thou shining marvel!

Sunshine's fire and blood's warm billows,
Secret laws of Life pursuing,
Hide within thy maiden bosom.

All Life's sweetness, warmth of gladness,
We may see upon thy visage,
Youth eternal thou, Our Lady!

Source of goodness and forgiveness!
Virgin! Mother! Gentle Woman!
Joy with thee to find vouchsafe us!"

In a world that is cursed, not so much with egoism of the normal kind, the desire to get as much as possible out of oneself and one's own without the slightest intention of injuring others (for this "pious" egoism in reality does little harm), as with barren malice, which does harm to everyone, often without profiting its author; in this world, filled to bursting, not so much with healthy self-interest, which is the origin and creator of all things, as with malignity directed only by destructiveness, with envy and slander whose sole idea is to sully those more successful than oneself

with the resulting robbery, violence, murder and arson—in this world the great realist and Darwinist, Johannes V. Jensen, sets Woman—the white woman to wit—on a pedestal, and worships her as the white man's Madonna, from whom goodness, gentleness, reconciliation, justice and all fertility, also in a spiritual sense, are once more to radiate over the earth, especially now, after the curses and havoc of a world war.

And as the logical consequence of this picture, we shall expect to find that Man, seen with the eyes of the woman author, will scarcely appear so exalted; of this we find superabundant confirmation in modern feminine literature. The woman author, however, is not content to pocket the thousand years of compliments in her honour, nor is she at all eager to deck out her own heroines with all these excellent qualities, but to make up for it she pitches into Man in a way which, while not exactly confirming him in his inborn conviction that she is a sort of angel (even though she be one of the fallen), frequently exhibits Man as a devil, or oftener still as an abortion who, in spite of centuries of effort, can never raise himself to the heights necessary for a comprehension of her greatness; Man predestined by his folly and immorality to cause her constant annoyance, or at the best to act the clown in his futile attempts to get something more out of life with her than food, children and promotion.

From Clara Raphael, through Amalie Skram and Karin Michaelis, down to lesser, though yet noisier imitators, whose names need not be mentioned, we find this type arising in the last century: the literary woman who uses her pen to bewail Woman's hard

lot in life. Made of higher and finer stuff, unsurpassable in purity of thought and delicacy of feeling, good and wise, tender and sympathetic, altogether beyond the comprehension of Man's low intelligence and stunted emotional life, she drags out her holy existence by the side of some bandit or idiot, whom she was once foolish or angelic enough to trust. And it is not only her literary heroines that have such a bad time; no, it is Woman's universal lot to suffer, to drudge at home in everlasting monotony, to bear a monstrous number of children, all forced upon her, occasionally with the exception of No. 1, by an animal spouse, whose only god is his belly (note the feminine sayings: "The way to a man's heart is through his stomach"; "A well-furnished table is the only way to tame the brute"), and whose life is passed more or less lazily and ineffectively in all kinds of licence and amusement, in revelry, drinking and infidelity. But, God be praised, the hour is approaching for the complete dethronement of the former lord of creation. Bit by bit she has wrung from him his prerogatives in every social, economic and legal sphere: economic freedom and independence, married or unmarried; the franchise; the right of election; professions and offices of almost every kind; the principle of equal wages—in fact, the only things now lacking are complete parental authority over the children born in wedlock (she has always had it over those born outside it) and admission to the priesthood and to commissions in the Army; then Man's power will be broken everywhere, and then—ah! then the sweet hour of vengeance will strike. And though we have not yet been told in

what this vengeance will consist, it is immediately obvious that it must be boundless for so many crimes committed by so despicable a creature as *homo sapiens ;* and as the advent of this St. Bartholomew's Night cannot be long delayed, we shall soon see what form the revolution will take, and while restraining our curiosity, may suitably employ the interval in our investigation of *why* the white man still regards and treats his womenfolk with such high esteem. For we can already understand, from what has been said above, that it is not a reciprocation called forth by any corresponding general or innate feeling on her part.

In this connection it is worth pausing to remark that a general feeling of this sort, of respect, devotion, readiness to serve, gentleness and kindness, admiration amounting to love—nay, to self-sacrifice for Man—is to be found among women in many races *outside* Europe, and even in Europe it is not *entirely* extinct. I cannot forget the observations I made on the Albanian frontier during the first Balkan War (Turkey against Bulgaria, Serbia and Montenegro). In November 1912 a couple of thousand Montenegrins were besieging Scutari—hopelessly, because the town was covered by two impregnable mountain fortresses and they themselves were badly clothed and equipped, without heavy artillery; bravery and marksmanship could not accomplish it alone. Their commissariat and transport service also left much to be desired, and several times a week I saw long columns of women crossing the mountains that divide Montenegro from the Boiana valley (in which Scutari lies) on their bare feet through the ice-cold water from the thawing mountain-sides,

now along muddy roads, now over hard rocks, day after day dragging on their backs sacks of provisions, asses' hams, black bread and coffee, to their husbands, brothers and sweethearts who lay in the marshes around Scutari. A section of this female transport was permitted, like myself, to return in King Nikola's steamer—the only one in Montenegro—across a corner of Lake Scutari to Rieta in Montenegro. Twelve women sat with me on the after deck. In spite of all their hardships not one of them showed a trace of any depression or discontent: the older ones were calm and collected, the younger cheerful and lively. As I was writing my notes I happened to drop my fountain-pen on the deck and it rolled down into the cockpit. Instantly all the women jumped up, young and old, and dashed headlong into the cockpit, where they fought furiously for the honour of getting hold of my pen. One of the younger ones secured the prize and handed it to me with a happy smile—we did not understand each other's language, of course, and even if I had known hers I should have been speechless with astonishment at the incident, to which I did not attach nearly so much importance as perhaps may be thought. I am not a Northern European for nothing, and therefore unaccustomed to such treatment; if I had had a Northern woman by my side I should pretty quickly have picked up the pen myself, and been quite happy if she hadn't called me "Clumsy!" or something worse.

Far more pronounced than this even, as many of us know, is Woman's respect for Man in the Eastern civilizations, and this is far from being associated, as

most people think, with any bad or cruel treatment of women. Frau M. von Kamphövener gave a lecture in February 1923 to the German Oriental Society in Berlin on the Turkish woman's life before and after marriage—usually monogamous, but frequently as a member of the harem, which every Western woman enters with a characteristic blend of horror and itching curiosity. Frau von Kamphövener knows the whole system, from many years' observation, and was of an entirely different opinion. According to her evidence, marriages in Mohammedan Turkey are more harmonious than here. The education of children (even though—or because?—the sons are early removed from the mother's charge) and the position and treatment of the wife are superior to those obtaining among monogamous Christian Armenians. European, and particularly American women, who doubtless hold the record for contempt and exploitation of Man, have endeavoured, hitherto without success, by inoculations of Feminism to drag the Turkish woman out of the slough of degradation in which she is supposed to exist. Frau von Kamphövener was gratified that the Turkish woman had been able hitherto to defend her naïve and healthy soul against this propaganda, which —whatever else one may think of it—has not in any case shown itself capable of making the poor white woman happy, but probably in time will succeed in making the happy Turkish woman unhappy.

As a general rule we find that the farther we go to the east and south—to India, China, Polynesia—the stronger becomes Woman's primitive delight in submitting body and soul to a man, and priding herself

on serving him.* An old friend of mine, the daughter of a clergyman, married to a highly placed Norwegian official in China, told me some years ago how this phenomenon had always aroused her profound astonishment, when, for instance, she watched Chinese family life on the rivers from her bungalow in the evening. Junk after junk glides slowly down the broad, silent stream, carrying cargo, and usually steered by the woman standing aft. One child clings to her skirts, two more are playing on deck, she carried the fourth on her back, the fifth is at her breast, the sixth is evidently on the way; with calm confidence she steers the boat safely through a mass of craft and other obstacles. What a picture of feminine bondage and degradation! But why does she laugh all over her face, showing her strong, sound teeth? Why do her eyes beam when she turns them on her husband, sprawling lazily under the awning? Why is she wild with delight every time he condescends to give her a glance of approbation? My Norwegian friend had questioned the Chinese women, just as the Japanese doctor questioned me, and she had never been given any answer but this: " Is there anything more delightful than to have a husband? Ought I not to be glad to have a husband at all, and ought I not to do all I can to keep him pleased with me? "

It is only recently that the psycho-erotic and matrimonial life of primitive peoples has begun to attract the attention of students, which has too long been

* For East Asiatic and especially Chinese family culture and its importance to the maintenance and prosperity of society, see in particular Schallmeyer, *Vererbung und Auslese*, 4th ed., 1920, section 6, pp. 282–310.

confined to arrowheads, ostrich feathers, costumes, eating customs, housing, to the detriment of a study of what is of central importance: the relations between the sexes and the relations to the infinite and eternal, about which we consequently still know too little. This little, supplemented by fresh information obtained from white men with prolonged and accurate knowledge of the life and habits of Orientals and their women, married and unmarried, will be set forth in the third and fourth chapters. In the next, in order to obtain a more complete basis for critically examining the questions before us, we shall state the outlines of what is known to-day of the physical and psychical characteristics of Man and Woman.

CHAPTER II

GENERAL ANALYSIS OF SEX CHARACTERS AND QUALITIES

1. Zoological Analogies

In the introductory chapter we saw that the next step in our investigation must necessarily be a comparison between the physical and psychical characteristics of Man and Woman—their relative advantages of body and mind, strength and capacity, in every field that is of importance to human life on earth. We should like to premise at the outset that any reasonable man has an instinctive feeling that injustice may easily be done to one sex or the other by such a comparison, which actually takes for granted that there must be and is a common standard, a physical and psychical criterion, by which Man and Woman can be appraised and weighed one against the other. But then it is not our side, the man's side, which desires, much less challenges, this comparison; it is forced upon the investigator by the whole tendency of Feminism, with its everlasting insistence on every kind of equality, equal rights and equal importance in every field, manual or intellectual, a tendency which has now resulted in claiming a positive superiority in a number of fields, soon, perhaps, in all, and which does not lack support for this claim in the white man's immemorial eulogy of Woman's countless advantages.

Now in the abstract and from a purely zoological point of view there is nothing to prevent the two sexes in a species being absolutely of equal value and homogeneous, apart from reproduction; nor, even in the case of great divergences, is there anything to prevent the female sex possessing the advantage and predominance. The problem of bisexuality is a curious one, the origin of sex-differentiation, its development, its meaning, if we may use the expression; and science—busily occupied with all bacteria, with which it is unable to keep pace, since, on account of the rapidity of their variations (many bacteria propagate as many generations in a week as Man in 10,000 years, and thus change their properties, such as vitality and virulence, at a far more rapid rate than the reactions of the human organism), they are continually changing into something else as soon as the bacteriologist believes he has fixed them—science has only very recently begun to interest itself in the problem of why most or all creatures among mammals, birds, fishes and reptiles are not, for instance, monosexual, or why they are bisexual but not tri- or poly-sexual, and why and how more or less profound distinctions have arisen in the two sexes, not only in the reproductory system, but in all physical and psychical dimensions. From the study of these questions and from every contribution, however small, to their solution—the new theory of hormones is the first instalment—we can learn more of existence and evolution—of eternity too, if need be—than from all the finicking specialization and curiosity-hunting over which thousands of scientific helots are poring in the

laboratories of the world. Not that I would suggest that this work must not also be done some day, but the mistake is that scientists for the most part begin at the wrong end, and are often incapable of distinguishing between the essential and the non-essential, from the stating of the problem to its solution.

If, starting from this idea, we look around us in the animal kingdom, we shall soon discover that it cannot be assumed *a priori* and in every case that the difference between the bodily and mental equipment of the two sexes is in favour of the male. We can find species and families in which the female is the larger, stronger, more active and violent in every respect, though this is especially the case in what we call the lower animals. In certain kinds of spider, for instance, where the female is as much as three times the size of the male, who leads, in fact, a very precarious existence. Only twice a year is the female in a certain state of weakness which renders her accessible to the male, who becomes aware of this with greater certainty than many a grown-up man in a similar situation, and steals in on her, but only to retreat in great haste and with every sign of panic before she awakes from her state of intoxication. One second's delay and she is upon him. In size and strength he is so hopelessly at a disadvantage that there is no question of a battle; he is pierced through by her awl-like teeth the moment she gets hold of him, and sucked to an empty shell half a minute later. For the female spider has none of the inhibitions which—perhaps—would cause a higher female creature in a like situation to consider whether she might not possibly have use for him another

time or derive other advantages from him, such as breaking him in to various kinds of slavery, to repairing her net and fetching flies for her, so that she might the better devote herself to egg-laying and the bringing up of young, or, if this were unnecessary, she could, of course, spend her life in vegetating at his expense, without turning a hand to a single mesh of the web.

Among certain kinds of birds—in the eagle family, for instance—the female is also superior in size to the male, at any rate in *volume*, if not in strength. This difference may be said to be "necessitated" or "developed" by hatching, which in any case at certain seasons and in certain conditions (cold mountain aeries and the like) makes great and as it were "concentrated" demands on the physique of the female; and the difference in strength, which, of course, need not be in actual proportion to the difference in size, is in any case not sufficiently great to threaten the existence of the male; they live together on good terms not only in the mating season, but also during the hatching period, often longer. Several examples of this kind are known, or ought to be known, but the main rule of the animal kingdom is nevertheless that physical and psychical advantages are in greater or less degree on the side of the male, and on the whole increasingly so in proportion as we ascend in the scale of evolution and differentiation. Why, nobody knows, and perhaps nobody ever will know here on earth, and for that matter the question does not concern our problem, the solution of which only requires the fact to be established that there *is* this difference between the sexes throughout almost the whole of the animal

kingdom, and that, in spite of many semblances of equality, this difference is far more deep-seated than anyone hitherto has guessed. You have only to go out into the country and watch the life and habits of your domestic animals, and you will learn more from them than from a whole mass of books. Take first the cock, who is not in vain the symbol of chivalry, or at any rate of gallantry. A bevy of hens without a cock is like a flock of lost sheep. He collects them and keeps them together, leads them in the search for food, and never touches it (unless he has become degenerate through domestication) until the hens have begun to eat. He is something of a *poseur*, occasionally indicating his chivalry rather than carrying it through: he lets the hens begin the meal before him, but very soon he sets to work with such appetite that he will often eat their share as well as his own. His physical endowments are not only far more splendid—in our eyes and certainly also in those of the hens—than the female's, but at the same time incomparably stronger; his powerful beak and spurs are weapons which, in conjunction with his pronounced fighting spirit, would render it impossible for even ten hens to despatch him, even if they conspired to do it. Nor, in fact, is there ever a question of any sort of opposition to him, and in return he is ready to risk his life the moment a stranger invades his territory. The psychical tribute of the drake to the duck is slighter: he may often be seen chasing the female away from the food. Something of the same sort applies to the swan, which is altogether a malicious and bad-tempered bird, in both sexes.

Among ruminants we remark a notable difference in size, build and disposition, everywhere in favour of the male; but at the same time the female is often endowed with considerable size and dangerous horns, which in any case give her an advantage over most assailants, except the male himself, who—naturally—hardly ever uses his superior strength to harm her, but, on the contrary, to defend her and the offspring, even when she could very well look after herself. Take a walk across the fields of your forefathers. The cows are grazing or lying far off, peacefully chewing the cud; even when you come near they scarcely notice you, with the exception of the calves, and they are only inquisitive. But the *bull* has discovered you long ago, and if you are a stranger he gets up, threatening even in his attitude. If you do the slightest thing to confirm his suspicions, he begins to stamp his forefeet as a sign that you must clear out or take the consequences. You walk on, pretending that he does not interest you. After going a few hundred yards you turn round to see whether he has forgotten you by now; certainly not, he is still in the same position, like a statue, following every one of your movements with the closest attention, while all the cows wear a look of careless indolence, as much as to say: "What has it to do with me? Father's at home." You go through the gate and hide behind the hedge, where the bull cannot see you any more, and think at last you have fooled him; but he still keeps his eyes fixed on the spot where you disappeared. If the wind blows towards him so that he can scent you, he will never settle down till you have gone

home. From all such experiences it is evident that, as every countryman knows, the natural superiority of the bull over the cow, not only as regards strength and brute force, is far greater than is implied in the actual difference in size, and that he is at the same time more observant, more intelligent, more watchful, resolute and courageous than even the most model cow.*

The study of horses, or at any rate of blood horses, gives a somewhat different result. Stallion and mare are of about equal size and strength; judged, for instance, by the ability to win races—a tremendous trial of strength and endurance for the whole organism —there is no real difference; indeed some would give the preference to a really well-built mare, when it comes to fractions of a second in a finish, as the stallion's external sexual apparatus may handicap him just enough to bring him in a length or a head behind as a good second. For corresponding reasons, many athletes wear, as we know, a suspensory bandage when running. But there is this great difference, that a stallion in training is practically always the same, apart, of course, from those few moments when in the course of his work he may be interested in a mare; but these are of such rare occurrence that they do not affect his general reliability. A stallion runs or works well or poorly according as he is a good or a bad horse;

* One day I saw a little bull calf of about eight months old having an altercation with his mother, who was still far superior to him in size, and therefore tried to stop him by setting her horns at him and planting her four feet firmly in the ground. But he simply used his forehead and pushed her backwards fifty yards down the meadow at full speed!

that is, he is essentially the same, he does his best when he is asked. With the mare it is often otherwise. You go into the stable on a spring morning, the sun is shining, the larks are singing, the air is still, your mare is ready saddled; you look forward to a gallop across the fields and think the mare will enjoy it as much as you. But what's this?—to-day she's as cross as a cat, backs away as you try to mount, shies at a piece of paper in the road, though as a rule she fears nothing; she stumbles every second, obviously on purpose, as she has not yet been given spring grass, which might excuse such clumsiness. To-day you can hardly get her to trot; you simply daren't ask her to gallop, she might find it a welcome pretext for falling and breaking your neck; you turn back discouraged and regret you did not take the horse, though he is a hard-trotter and not so easy to ride. But she shall be paid out another day. Two days later it rains in torrents, roads and fields are a mass of mud, an equinoctial gale is howling, you wouldn't turn a dog out in such weather, much less a horse. We put on all the most weatherproof clothes we can find, take spurs and whip; now we shall see who's master, she or I. But what's this?—to-day the mare is neither dull nor cross-tempered, she is bursting with suppressed energy, I can feel it as soon as I swing myself into the saddle, like overheated steam shaking the plates of an express locomotive; away she flies out of the yard, dancing gaily and gracefully through the slush; to-day she is not afraid of motor-cars or fallen tree-trunks, does not even make them an excuse for stumbling, she obeys the slightest hint and there is such

speed in her that I get cramp in the arms from holding her in, when, after letting her have her fling the whole morning, I come home bathed in perspiration, but in as high spirits as herself: for she has taught me something, not only of her own nature, but of the otherwise enigmatical, ineradicable, impenetrable capriciousness of the feminine gender.

But in spite of the physical equality among many ungulate quadrupeds, there is nevertheless no question of any real resistance to the male on the part of the female. If as an exception she shows signs of nerves or disinclination, she gets bitten and kicked into subjection, and she even has to leave her foal in the lurch if the male—as seldom happens—takes it into his head to force her to do so. Temperament, activity, capacity for leadership, and with it superiority, are practically always on the side of the male among the higher mammals, even when the female is more or less his physical equal.

Tempting as it might be to pursue this analysis of animal psychology, for which there is still plenty of available material, these indications must nevertheless suffice as an introduction to our main theme: How are Man and Woman constituted with respect to physical and psychical qualities, is there any essential difference, and, if so, to which side has nature given the predominance, how powerful is it, and what direction does it take?

2. Physical Characteristics

Although one would not suppose it required much anatomical skill or knowledge of human nature to recognize that *homo sapiens* belongs to that category of the widespread family of mammals in which the differences between the sexes not only are present both in physical and psychical dimensions, but are if anything more pronounced in Man, and especially in the white race, than in most other living creatures, it has nevertheless been possible for a band of persistent agitators in the last century, such as Stuart Mill, in his *Subjection of Women* (and it is no excuse that he was in reality ignorant of the subject), to succeed in ignoring these immense and sweeping differences, rooted in heredity, or to turn them into so many infinitesimal quantities, which would vanish, if not in this generation, in the next, when it is to be supposed that the effects of recent female equality in almost all departments of Man's activity will have reduced these still undeniable differences to a *quantité négligeable* which can only be discovered under the microscope. It is therefore necessary to go thoroughly into the matter, first in a physical and then in a psychical analysis of the special characters of Man and of Woman, apart from the functions of reproduction and what pertains thereto, where, of course, no demonstration is needed.

We get our first direct impression of difference merely by examining the disparities of height and weight, for which systematic figures are now provided by the anthropological investigations of almost every country.

According to these, the average height of Northern European men may be put at 5 ft. 7 ins., and of women at about 5 ft. 2 ins.; the difference in favour of Man is in Scandinavia about 5 ins., in Germany and Northern France 4·7 ins., in Belgium 4·3 ins. The difference is already present at birth, though it is then only about 1 centimetre (about 2 per cent. of the height), and increases with certain interruptions until in the fully-grown European it becomes about 8 per cent. in Man's favour. This applies even more strongly to the weight, which in the young grown man averages 20 per cent. more than in the young grown woman, before they attain the age when both, especially the woman, acquire a greater or less volume of superfluous fat. The normal weight of Northern European men is, with this reservation, 143–154 lbs., of women 121–132 lbs., corresponding to the normal height mentioned. These disparities in height and weight are accompanied by a far greater difference in the strength of the skeleton and muscular system. The average man is not merely 10 or 20 per cent. stronger than the average woman, but has at least 50 to 100 per cent. more strength and endurance, and in general can support use and abuse of his bodily powers far longer and better than she can. She is superior to him only in certain physiological particulars; thus she can better support loss of heat and the action of cold. The reason of this is that her muscular system and osseous structure are surrounded, have their interstices filled up and their outlines rounded off, by a fairly thick layer of adipose tissue, situated especially between the corium and the musculature, the subcutaneous

layer of fat, which is abundantly present even in slender young women and contributes greatly to giving Woman the smooth, rounded outline which, as we know, is one of her most powerful erotic attractions. But this subcutaneous adipose tissue has at the same time another biological significance: it isolates the subjacent parts, lungs, abdomen, circulatory system, etc., from the direct action of cold,—answering, though in a slighter degree, to (*sans comparaison*) the layer of blubber in seals and whales—and makes it possible for her, when fashion demands it, to appear at balls and other functions in a dress, or rather undress, which in the case of most men would bring on pneumonia and sudden death. Of course she may easily carry this disrobing mania too far, and every doctor knows how many pulmonary and abdominal complaints in the young woman are due to her ineradicable aversion to choosing a costume suited to the country in which she is born, the climate in which she lives, the weather she has to encounter and the occupation in which she is engaged. But her greater power of resistance in this respect, as well as in passive suffering, must be acknowledged; it is connected with her greater *tenacity of life* in general, which is well known from the mortality statistics of every country, and which we shall have occasion to refer to later on.

Proceeding with our analysis of the comparative anatomical structure of Man and Woman, we again find radical differences in all the individual parts and organs of the body. Woman, as we have seen, is shorter than Man, but her legs are relatively shorter still (in Europe about 62 per cent. of the length of the

body, against 64 per cent. in Man), and the trunk is thus correspondingly longer than in Man. This, of course, is mainly due to the more capacious development of Woman's abdomen. On the other hand, Man's chest and breadth of shoulders surpass Woman's in every dimension except that of depth; a section of Man's chest approaches an ellipse with two separate foci (an oval), whereas a section of the female breast comes nearer to the circle with one focus (the centre). The proportions of the head and cranium are specially remarkable, and demand some attention in view of the succeeding section on psychical characteristics.

In general the discussion of the relative cerebral capacity in Man and Woman has not reached beyond the following argument. Man points out that his head, and especially his cranium and brain capacity, is always and in all races far greater than Woman's. To this the Feminist objects that, measured in relation to the weight of the body, the volume and weight of Woman's brain are *greater* than Man's, which is correct as far as it goes. We must look a little more closely into the significance of these facts. The cranial capacity of present-day males in Central and Northern Europe is about 1500 to 1550 cubic centimetres, of females about 1300 to 1350. These figures agree with those we ourselves have found among the healthy country population of Denmark, where, however, the women seem to stand rather higher (nearer 1350). The well-known Bavarian anthropologist Ranke found the following averages in Munich: men 1523 c.cm., women 1361 c.cm. The difference oscillates around 10 per cent. in Man's favour and holds good of all

races in all ages, as appears from the following tabular summary of cranial capacity:

	Men c.cm.	Women c.cm.
Stone Age inhabitants, Denmark–Germany	1600	1410
Danish peasants, present day . . .	1500	1330
Modern Bavarians (Munich) . . .	1523	1361
African negroes	1405	1250
Goejiros (South America) . . .	1390	1087
Veddahs (Ceylon)	1336	1201

A similar difference recurs everywhere in the weight of the brain itself, which in Central Europe averages 1425 grams in Man and 1225 grams in Woman; for Scandinavia (Sweden) Retzius finds an average of 1399 grams for Man and 1248 grams for Woman. Now of course it is natural that a larger and stronger individual of the same species, like Man as compared with Woman, must have a larger central organ, just as tall men on the whole have larger heads and greater volume of brain than small men; but it would not occur to anyone on that account to assert offhand that there was far more talent to be found among tall men than among short, simply because the former, very naturally, have somewhat larger heads than the latter. Neither can one therefore infer any intellectual superiority in Man simply from the fact that his cranium and brain are on an average at least 10 per cent. more capacious and heavier than Woman's. But one cannot either, as the Feminists do, attribute to *her* any physical or psychical advantage from the fact that she has the larger brain capacity and volume *in proportion to* the whole mass of her body. The fact of the matter is that we have here to deal with a *law of proportion*, which meets us again in many departments of Nature

and of industry, and which tells us that the larger an organism or an "establishment" is, the less *in proportion* need be its centre or clearing-house. To use a metaphor from social economy: if a concern with fifty workmen can be run by one manager and four clerks, a similar concern of twice the size, with 100 workmen, will need no more than one manager and, say, seven clerks. In the same way, we cannot expect the head and the brain to grow in *absolute* proportion to the weight or mass of the body, but must look for a relatively slower rate of growth. We come across this law again among the higher vertebrates in the fact that the smallest animals often have the relatively heaviest brains. The relative weight of the brain among small apes, rats, weasels and most birds is thus just as great or even greater than in Man, including Woman, though nobody will be likely to assert that a monkey or a canary is thereby proved more intelligent than a woman. It is more scientifically correct to compare the volume and weight of the brain in men and women of equal size; that is, (comparatively) small men with (comparatively) big women, and on this basis Man again carries off the victory: men of the same size as women have much the greater heads and brains. Even a contrary result would not, of course, have been sufficient to decide the question of his psychical and intellectual superiority (which we shall come to later), since at present we know but little of the relations between cerebral mass, quality and mental capacity.*

* There is a certain probability that in the female brain as a whole a relatively larger percentage of the weight than in

An examination of the brains of a number of eminent men in all countries seems, however, to indicate that distinguished men of science, thinkers and statesmen as a rule have possessed brains above the average weight.* We ourselves found in 1911 by measurement and calculation of the cerebral capacity among Copenhagen professors an average of 1630 c.cm.; reduced to the average height of the population (professors are rather taller), this gives about 1600, against 1500 among the rest of the population. In Denmark our investigation is the only one of its kind, and it is not yet completed. Abroad a number of similar measurements have been taken, which confirm these results.

But the most striking thing we have to consider in this connection is the capacity and weight of the *child's* brain at different ages. Everyone knows that the new-born child has a relatively (to the total length and weight of the body) very large head, but only a few know that the weight of the new-born child's brain in proportion to the weight of its body is *four* times as great as that of the grown man or woman. Afterwards the proportion decreases rapidly, so that

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the male brain is connected with the *somatic* functions proper (perceptive, motorial, sensory, etc.). One indication of this is the relatively greater weight of the cerebellum in Woman, as distinguished from those parts of the cortical substance of the cerebrum which we assume on several grounds to serve as the substratum of the more reflective mental qualities (the intelligence in its proper sense).

* For Denmark we have Professor F. C. C. Hansen's very able and unique investigation of the skeletons in the ancient royal tombs of Roskilde Cathedral, from which it appears that men like Svend Estridssön and Bishop Vilhelm, women like Queen Estrid, had a cranial capacity far above the normal.

the child's head between the age of one and two is relatively twice as heavy as the woman's, and in its third year only 50 per cent. more, after which the ratio declines slowly till at last it reaches a *relative* minimum in the grown woman, but an *absolute* minimum in the grown man. This law of proportion is better

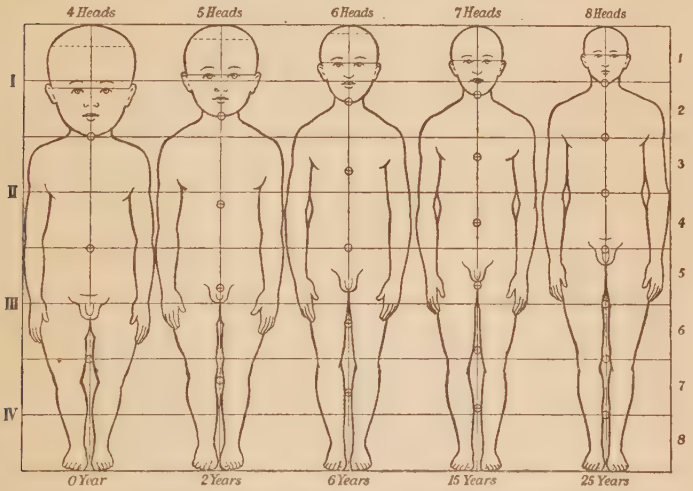

FIG. 1.—Relative Growth of the Human Body from Child to Man.

explained by the accompanying diagram (Fig. 1) * than by the most accurate description.

If we examine the form of the head and the character of the features, we find that Woman's head is in every detail more infantile, more childlike than Man's.†

* Dr. med. O. Schultze, *Das Weib in anthropologischer und socialer Betrachtung*, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1920.

† Dr. med. O. Schultze, *op. cit.*, pp. 27 ff., and Dr. med. Margarethe v. Kemnitz, *Das Weib und seine Bestimmung*, 2nd ed., Munich, 1919, pp. 13–17.

The profile of the head shows that her forehead is more abrupt, her crown flatter, with more marked angular transitions, which features are still more pronounced in the child; while as a rule the full-grown Nordic man has a long, evenly sloping forehead, which passes into a domed crown, more or less high. The frontal bone, especially in men of exceptional intelligence, " overhangs " the eyes (" deep-set eyes "), while as a rule Woman's eyes are more flush with the face, which, to be sure, " in Man's eyes " gives her a kindly and prepossessing expression, " of childlike innocence," " meek adoration," or whatever phrases the poetical soul may choose to deck a purely anatomical feminine facial conformation withal. Even in the details of the lower jaw we find again infantile features; thus the angle of Woman's lower jaw is more obtuse than Man's, the child's still more obtuse than Woman's. The difference between Man and Woman is pretty considerable (averaging 7 degrees). Anthropologists have studied this angle and to some extent the chin with peculiar interest. If, for example, we follow up the phylogenetic development of the lower-jaw angle from the animal, particularly the anthropoid apes, through prehistoric Man to the highest races of the present day, we cannot avoid being struck by the fact that this angle is originally very obtuse, but gradually approaches a right angle according as we come nearer to Man. At the same time, we meet with a development of the profile of the face from a pronounced slant to a more and more vertical line, from prognathism (marked projection of the lower part of the face and the heavy jaws; retreating forehead and skull)

to orthognathism (slighter and receding lower face, accompanied by raised and protruding forehead and crown).* Many anthropologists conceive a causal connection between these transformations, not to say revolutions, of the cranium from animal to Man, to the effect that the powerful growth of the brain, the relative diminution of the face, the reduction in the size of the teeth and jaw, together with the development towards orthognathism, have, if not precisely necessitated a continual reduction of the lower-jaw angle, at least *favoured* it; and as several of these conditions in this respect † are not more apparent in Man than in Woman, it is in itself remarkable that his lower-jaw angle should nevertheless be usually (and in the same race) still less than hers. We interpret this interaction in the same way as Wiedersheim explains the greater prominence of the chin in the higher races, when he says: " We are faced rather with a complete remodelling of the anterior part of the lower jaw, parallel to the peculiar elaboration of Man's cranium and upper facial form, and to the change thereby involved in the demand on the functions of the bones of the jaw.

* Striking as this development is, viewed in its broad features, the rule is nevertheless not to be applied without some qualification, as Wiedersheim has remarked (*Der Bau des Menschen als Zeugniss für seine Vergangenheit*, 4th ed., Tübingen, 1908, p. 88, note), and one must be careful only to compare individuals of the same and of " unmixed " race.

† Occasionally, however, other anatomical peculiarities intervene. Thus Man's masticatory muscles are as a rule more powerful, with corresponding slight prominences of the bone, *e.g.*, at the posterior corner of the lower jaw, which may affect the lower-jaw angle. And in fact we see that, as this prominence tends to disappear with old age, the lower-jaw angle becomes more obtuse in old men (and women) than in young.

Therefore the view appears to me justified, that the development of the chin must have been brought about as an adaptation of the lower jaw, in agreement with the mechanical conditions, to the special form of Man's cranium." *

But there is another piece of evidence, with which only professional statisticians are conversant, namely Woman's lower mortality and greater power of passive resistance to attacks on her organism; for example, she supports operations and heavy loss of blood far better than Man. The Feminists are fond of casting this apparent weakness in men's teeth; indeed I have met not a few medical men who were not clear as to the meaning of this difference, seemingly to Man's disadvantage. It is probably nothing but an instance of the general biological law that the more primitive a living creature is, the less complicated, the less differentiated, the better will the individual support violent attacks on its organism and the more easily will it be able to make up for losses which would be fatal to a creature higher in the scale. One may cut certain kinds of earthworms in two, and each half will continue its separate life. You cannot do that with a human being, not even with a woman. Many reptiles can perform self-amputation in order to escape a pursuer; the tail or the leg grows again of itself. But as we ascend the scale of vertebrates, the possibility of such experiments becomes exceedingly limited, and it is in this sense that we must estimate Woman's greater tenacity of life. Let us not be deceived by Man's greater *psychical* resistance in the presence of pain: a man clenches his teeth on the operating

* The italics are Wiedersheim's, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

table and dies under the knife without letting a sound out of him; a woman shrieks with all her might, but survives it. Thus it is established for all time, what no one hitherto has remarked, that this biological vulnerability of Man, his (up to 30 per cent.) greater mortality in most age-classes, in spite of his incomparably greater physical strength and active endurance, so far from being a sign of weakness, is, on the contrary, one of the most decisive proofs of his being, at any rate for the present, the last word of creation, and this superior mortality is thus his biological patent of nobility.

For that matter, the greatest thinker of antiquity, Aristotle, in spite of the defective zoological knowledge of his time, arrived at a similar result by another way. He points out that all lower species, qualities and faculties in Nature develop and mature rapidly to the degree of perfection allotted to them, but that a longer time is required for the full development of a species and its properties in proportion to the length to which it carries its peculiar character. Now it is a known fact that the curve of Woman's development has at the same time a much more rapid and a much shorter course than Man's. She arrives at maturity at the age of fourteen even in Germany and Scandinavia, and at twenty-one Woman is actually full grown in Northern Europe, and has already passed her biological maximum in the South. European Man nowhere matures before the age of twenty, and does not reach the full development of his whole personality until between thirty and thirty-five. His brain continues to grow until the age of forty-five to fifty, and with many eminent male personalities development is even

slower and more complete. Even among average persons, Man's culmination does not arrive before the age of fifty—that is, at a period when Woman, even in the North, has entirely finished her career as a sexual being—and in the case of superior intellects still later, and he preserves his full powers of reproduction and mental energy until his sixty-fifth year, often indeed much longer, as a rule until shortly before his death. Aristotle was hereby confirmed in his fundamental view, that Woman was in every respect a weaker and more poorly endowed creature, but, like any decent white man, the only conclusion he drew was that he was bound to protect her against the consequences of this inferiority, while in return she was bound to submit to his unconditional leadership in everything; of which we shall have more to say in Chapter V, on the Woman Question in Antiquity.

Be this as it may, the science of comparative anatomy and anthropology has established that almost every feature of Woman's anatomy from the crown of her head to the sole of her foot points to her physical development being situated between that of the child and that of Man; in other words, her physique has stopped as it were at an earlier, more childish stage than Man's. This need not imply any detraction—quite the contrary, the lover of children will say—but it does bespeak an enormous difference, and it is the *differences* between Man and Woman, far more than the *appraisement* of them, which interest us in forming a judgment of present-day Feminism. As the already quoted Professor of Anatomy Schultze of Würzburg recently expressed it in a lecture: "Woman remains

in her whole body more of a child than Man. The childish element in Woman is typical of her, it is her beauty, her charm." * It is the physician, the man of science, whom facts have driven to this result, for by nature Professor Schultze is also a Feminist (though one of the moderates), as appears from the rest of his book, especially when he deals with the *psychical* characteristics of Woman and Man, to which we now pass.

3. Psychical Characteristics

(*a*) *The Intellect.*

In order to obtain a comprehensive survey of the distinctive psychical features of Man and Woman respectively, we shall examine the psychical characteristics of the two sexes under the heads of Intellect, Emotion, and Will (Ethics).

The intellectual comparison need not detain us long. Not that I would suggest that the average woman is by any means to be put down as unintelligent —we shall see presently with what precision she conducts herself in all her *own* spheres, provided her womanly instincts are unimpaired and unspoilt—but she possesses in her spiritual ego few of those qualities of the understanding whereby Man, albeit in the sweat of his brow, in the course of millenniums, nay, hundreds of millenniums, has made this earth subject to himself.

Man's intellect is compounded of three main elements: his fabulous delight in and capacity for observing everything in his natural surroundings, whereas the

* *Op. cit.*, p. 48.

normal woman's interest and talent for observation are confined to the persons immediately surrounding her, especially her husband and children. In the next place, Man has the outstanding power of *comparing* all his observations and extracting therefrom the most surprising results, whereby he discovers coherence and meaning in a world which to Woman is commonly nothing but a chaotic jumble of events. Finally Man, or at any rate every man above the average, can use this basis to create something entirely new for the service and support of the race in its struggle for existence, whether it be new implements, new machinery, new physical and chemical discoveries, or new production in the sphere of poetry, literature, sculpture, architecture or music. As this is fairly generally acknowledged—although the world has long ceased to deduce any practical consequence therefrom (*e.g.*, in forbearing to treat a man so meanly or to allot him such poor conditions of existence as to deprive him of the opportunity or desire to continue this work, equally indispensable for all parties, men, women and children)—we shall not dwell upon it, but merely emphasize the agreement of this result with the *localization* of certain intellectual powers by modern cerebral anatomy. It now seems certain that the revision of sense impressions, the comparing of separate elements of observation, the creation of new combinations, and the imaginative faculty are centred pre-eminently in the anterior and superior part of the head, in entire agreement with the results we found in the last section, according to which the region of the forehead, the temples and the dome of

the crown were as a rule more strongly developed in Man than in Woman.

To this it is frequently objected that Woman's strength lies in the inner, domestic sphere and the work belonging to it, and that her supremacy in these departments shows that her intelligence in some respects is equal to Man's. But this is only correct in the sense that she can as a rule cope with these tasks with the comparatively low degree of deliberation and precision they demand, but it is not correct if it is meant to imply that she can do the domestic work *better* than Man, supposing that for some reason or other he takes a hand in anything usually pertaining to the mysteries of housekeeping. We all know, of course, that a middling man-cook is better than a middling female cook; that a good chef is very much better than a good female cook; that a woman dress-maker is only serviceable for everyday things, while a man, a ladies' tailor, has to be called in when it is a question of a costume which in taste, cut, make and fit is to be something out of the ordinary; that a good man-servant is far better than an efficient maid-servant, and so on. But people do not see, or not sufficiently clearly, the *corollary* of all these observations, which is that *a superior intellect can apply itself to anything*, great or small, difficult or easy; that wherever applied it benefits everybody and everything; and that a man, as soon as he puts his attention and his will to it, can do any kind of work, domestic included, much better and more quickly than a woman—that it bores him more than her is quite another matter; he certainly does it more rationally, so long as it is necessary.

This observation sounds paradoxical, because in the minds of most people it is obscured by the fact that most qualities and capabilities are present in the male and female sex respectively in very various degrees, and, be it noted, in such a way that most people possess the powers in question in a certain definite degree; a smaller number have them in a greater or a less degree than this, while a few possess the qualities in

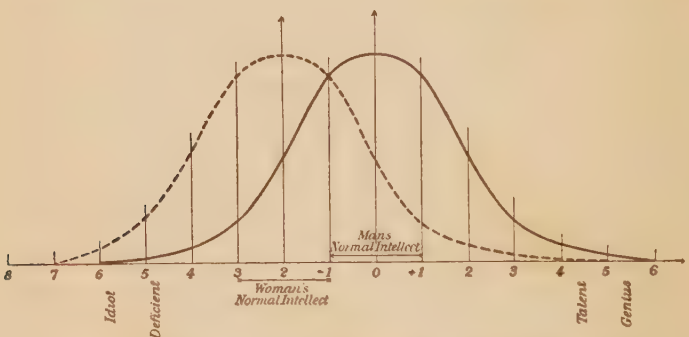

FIG. 2.—Graphic Representation of the Comparative Typical Intelligence of Men and Women.

question either in a very pronounced degree or scarcely at all. We may illustrate this gradation of mental qualities, here equivalent to intellectual powers, by a curve so drawn that the horizontal intervals on the base line will show the degree of positive or negative divergence from the average (zero), and the vertical intervals will denote the percentage of individuals who possess such and such a degree of intellectual capacity. We get then the following curves, the continuous line for Men, the dotted line for Women.

These curves, in accordance with the laws of observation, which we cannot go into here, are drawn in such a way that about 40 per cent. of the men have the quality in question in a normal degree (within + 1 and − 1 of the average, here represented by zero), 15 per cent. are a little above (between + 1 and + 2), 15 per cent. a little below the average (between − 1 and − 2), 8 per cent. much above (+ 2 to + 3) or below (− 2 to − 3), 5 per cent. gifted (+ 3 to + 4) or stupid (− 3 to − 4), and 2 per cent. highly gifted (+ 4 to + 5) or, on the other hand, simple-minded (− 4 to − 5). The remainder—an insignificant quantity—come under the head of talent, exceptionally genius (above + 5), or, at the other end of the scale, mentally deficient and idiots (below − 5). If we look at the corresponding curve for women, which we have here shifted two degrees of intelligence to the negative side—for some qualities more, for others less—we find that a comparatively small number of the most highly gifted women in the department in question reach into Man's stage of intelligence, so that, while 40 per cent. of the men possess an average degree of capacity, about 23 per cent. of the women have approximately the same natural ability, and while 15 per cent. of the men are above the average, the women still have perhaps 5 per cent. to set against them, but hardly any when we reach the level of outstanding mental powers (Man's degrees of + 3 to + 4), and no real talent in an intellectual sense, much less genius. But this representation, which applies in any case to every intellectual faculty which is more or less common to the sexes (and thus does not include, for instance, the

creative imagination, of which Man has a monopoly pure and simple), explains for the first time a thing which everyone has stumbled over hitherto and which the Feminist has unjustifiably made capital of, namely the well-known phenomenon that a good many men are to be found who are so poorly gifted in some way or in many ways, that they, so to speak, cannot help getting a wife who is superior to them in one or more intellectual points. According to our diagram, 5 per cent. of the Men are below the normal (between -3 and -4); in the same class are 15 per cent. of the Women with corresponding or less subnormality; but as we also find 20 per cent. of women in the next class above (which is the normal for Women, corresponding to Man's second class of subnormality, -2 to -3), a certain proportion of these somewhat poorly qualified men may easily risk getting a woman more capable, at any rate in certain respects; but the usual consequence of this is simply that men recognized as gifted have to be satisfied with women still less gifted than is otherwise necessary, a phenomenon which, as we all know, is of daily occurrence. The proportion of intelligence between the two sexes can be most clearly expressed in the following way. Let us suppose that we take all the men and women of a given generation, for instance, all those of the age of twenty-five, or, to make the comparison more biologically plausible, all the men of thirty together with all the women of twenty, and could range and classify them according to their intellectual level in one particular quality, which, of course, with our present means of psychical measurement cannot be

done so accurately as is here represented; * but some day it will be done, perhaps not for a thousand years. We should then find all the 20,000 men of thirty in Denmark divided according to their degrees of intelligence approximately as shown in our Man's curve, and all the women (about 24,000) in a similar way to that shown in our Woman's curve, probably rather less favourably, but from caution we have tried not to exaggerate the difference to her disadvantage; there is certainly no need for it.

We see now that to every man at a certain stage of intelligence there always corresponds a woman at a considerably lower stage; that Man's genius—to begin at the positive end of the curve—is *hors de concurrence*, but that his average level always stands considerably above hers; that to the man of poor gifts there always corresponds a woman of even smaller intellectual endowment, and that they only reach an equality in the neighbourhood of the intellectual zero (in the diagram -6 and -8); in other words, there are approximately as many male as female idiots. According to the statistics of abnormality, there are, however, rather fewer female, which agrees with our theory, if we assume—as there are many reasons for doing—that the range of variation of the male intellect is greater than that of the female, so that Man's intellect

* Practically all attempts of this kind (psychotechnics, etc.) have hitherto proved unsatisfactory; similarly, from the fact that at the end of a commercial course a class of female typists shows rather more speed than a class of men, no conclusion can be drawn except that for most of the women this work is an end in itself, whereas for the men it is an accessory study for which they are hardly likely to have subsequent practical use.

reaches far into the degrees of talent and genius on the positive side, but pays for this advantage by a larger number of stragglers at the other extremity.

This result is entirely confirmed by most of the multifarious experience we now possess of a generation of equality between the sexes in various departments, if only we do not allow ourselves to be deceived by feminist prejudices or fortuitous circumstances. Hitherto attention has always been fixed on the very few women who by their talent, and more especially by their industry, have distinguished themselves above many a masculine standard, causing a great flourish of trumpets in the Press of the movement, accompanied by prophecies of Man's speedy overthrow. Unfortunately (I was going to say) the case is entirely the reverse, when we look at the general body of self-supporting women, and it matters little whether we direct our attention to the apparently easy and not very exacting career of office worker, or to studies which demand the greatest intelligence and endurance, such as that of medicine. Study the whole lives of these women clerks and typists, who think it a far more exalted and "suitable" employment to sit on an office stool than to help their own or some one else's mother in domestic work. They enter the career healthy, happy, willing and sometimes capable, but as far as the great majority is concerned they never get beyond the stage of copying; everything has to be carefully explained to them in all its details; merely answering a letter with the aid of a few general indications is beyond the power of almost all of them, and the exception very soon becomes the wife or private

secretary of her employer. The remainder drag out their best years with steadily deteriorating prospects. Their sedentary life and unsatisfying occupation make most of them soured and anæmic before they reach the age of thirty; first they lose their colour, then the brightness fades from their eyes and complexion, finally the subcutaneous adipose tissue wastes away and in many cases the breast falls in, so that the young woman, emaciated, bony and angular, sees her appearance robbed of its greatest charms, until one day she finds herself poor and old, tired and worn out, and, as Professor Edvard Lehmann asserts,* she curses in her heart the employment to which perhaps she still pays lip-homage as the only dignified occupation for a modern woman. As a rule, however, she will get engaged and married before it is too late, and thank her stars she escaped from self-support so lightly. Every man who is a director of an important business, employing men and women on its clerical staff, will confirm this description in the main.† And now let us turn to the female students, of whom I may be assumed to have a more intimate knowledge than most people. What I have said of office workers applies again to the majority, but there are a few who go through with their studies, apparently with no less energy and ability than their male colleagues. But

* "Kvindens Aarhundrede," Gad's *Danske Magasin*, 1919.

† Let no one bring up against me the great body of girl students who almost nightly challenge their male colleagues to the dance. These are precisely the majority who never complete their studies, because these studies, often without their being aware of it, are only a means to the end—a husband. And to be sure that is much the most sensible way.

if we look more closely, we soon discover the difference. Take the promising young girl student of medicine. How full of life she was when she matriculated! and not very different as a freshwoman. How quiet, pale and disillusioned she becomes after passing her first degree examination! The second she can only manage by denying herself, not only every amusement, but even the pleasure of visiting her friends for four long years, because it is only by the strictest regularity of living and the most intense concentration on her work that she can avoid a complete collapse of her whole feminine nervous system; while her male colleagues indulge in sports, holidays, sprees and amusements of all kinds, night after night, and still get through it all without any very great trouble. And when the woman is turned out as a doctor, she can, no doubt, support herself, and deserves every acknowledgment, but whenever there is anything serious the matter, especially when it comes to using the *knife*, the sick person of either sex, given a free choice, will send for the man doctor, even though *she* passed with honours, while *he* just scraped through.

Moreover, as regards the general direction of the female intellect, both Feminists and Anti-Feminists agree that Woman has a better eye for things nearest at hand, for minute details, which makes her more sober and in a bad sense realistic * than Man, who prefers to work in perspective, choosing the long

* This was already remarked by Tolstoy: "Women are always more material than men. We accomplish a great deed for the love of it, while they always work *terre à terre*," he makes the chief male character in *Anna Karenin* say.

view, building for the future. "Long hair, short wits," says a Russian and German proverb very aptly. Woman's wits are not bad, but they are short; she is intellectually near-sighted, and this in itself would be no drawback, if only she knew how to respect Man's intellectual long-sightedness as well as he appreciates her short-sightedness where it is applicable.

On the other hand, it is a mistake to deny logical ability to Woman, as is commonly done. On the contrary, she possesses a keen dialectic, whose only fault is that it is not combined with, and therefore is applied without, a real power of observation and effective combination, so that her logic is barren and almost always degenerates into hair-splitting sophistry, which is Woman's sole contribution to every discussion, and in particular to the discussion of Woman's equality with Man.

It only remains to mention the faculty of *reproduction*, the talent for mimicry, which is one of the few intellectual provinces in which Woman can compete with Man. For this reason she is just as proficient as he in the professions of actor and vocalist, for instance (but not in that of dramatist, much less of composer). This is connected with Woman's peculiar powers of transformation and representation, which we shall understand better when we have gone through the following sections on Emotion and Morality.

(*b*) *The Emotions.*

The emotional nature, agitation, feeling, passion, and whatever else we may include in this immensely important and far too neglected department of con-

sciousness, is often described as Woman's peculiar domain, in return for which she has to resign her claims in almost every intellectual province. I confess I have always had my doubts about this very question of the intensity, depth and genuineness of feminine emotionality, and the reason for my reservation was simply this, that the intimate connection between universality of intellect and observation, imaginative and creative vigour on the one hand, and wealth and profundity of feeling on the other, has always been evident to me, so that *a priori* it must appear psychologically improbable that Nature, in reserving to Man the greater proportion of intellect, should have denied him any share of the emotional sphere. A study of life has, moreover, shown me that my reservation was justified, and that the view commonly held, also among men, that women have more sensibility than the male sex, is utterly false.* And I shall prove it.

This general overrating of Woman in the matter of emotion is excusable in so far as people commonly confuse the outward appearance with the inward reality, the surface with the content. And apparently, of course, Woman is emotional and instinct with feeling from morning to night, if we are to judge by the outward expression of her sensibility. Early and late she employs laughter and tears to an extent which no man, however happy or sad he might be,

* Not to be confused with the fact that Woman is more emotional in the sense that she acts, more often than Man, from motives influenced by her feelings; she is thus more impulsive, because her critical judgment, her "inhibitions," are weaker.

could ever rival. Go into a sea-bathing establishment on a Sunday in summer. From the women's side you will hear at a great distance noise, shouting and fits of laughter, like an army of howling Dervishes on the march, but it is only the girls enjoying themselves, whether they go into the water or not. From the men's side not a sound is to be heard beyond an occasional short word of command, although—or because—swimming and life in the water obviously absorb their attention and stimulate their spirits far more than the women's. You have to go on a journey; your woman is inconsolable, your absence will distress her day and night, and she is certain to die if you do not come back, as you have promised, when the six months of your work in the common interest have expired. You clench your teeth and think that, if a man had no other reason for coming back as soon as possible, he would have to do so simply to avoid disappointing such apparently deep and genuine passion. But when you do come back, in nine cases out of ten she has quite cooled down, and as a rule has consoled herself with another, if indeed she has not written to you at the end of three months to say that you must please excuse her, she has made a mistake, many thanks for the time we have known each other, and so on and so forth. The expressions are as constant and stereotyped in the collections of the most widely different men as if they had been taken from a complete letter-writer. But she has not made a mistake at all; at the moment of parting she was really as much moved as a woman can be, but, as with children, the fit is of short duration, because it

seldom goes deep; whereas it is far more difficult for a man to shake off a feeling or a passion, unless he systematically practises the art, which is, perhaps, necessary if he is not to run the risk of always coming off a loser in his dealings with the other sex. For in love one is not rewarded according to one's deserts; on the contrary, the law is unjust to the pitch of cruelty: it is not he who loves most dearly and most profoundly, but he who loves least and most superficially, that commands the situation, and this constitutes Woman's psychical strength in most love affairs. Only two Danish thinkers and poets among hundreds have been able to see through Woman on this point: Sören Kierkegaard and Knud Hjortö. The former says in *Stadier paa Livets Vej* ("Stages on the Road of Life"):

"For a man nothing is more terrible than to convict himself of an absurdity. This puts an end to all true idealism; since to be a villain admits of repentance, not to have meant a word of what one has said admits of regret, but to be absurd, palpably absurd, to have meant it all and see that it was nonsense—that turns even repentance into nausea. Otherwise with woman. It is her immemorial privilege to be transfigured in less than twenty-four hours into the most innocent and forgivable gibberish; for far be it from her honest soul to wish to deceive anyone: she meant everything she said; now she says the opposite, but with the same engaging candour, since now she is prepared to die for the opposite. If then a man in good earnest abandons himself to love, he may say he is well insured, if indeed he can find anyone to insure him; for so frivolous an object as a woman must always fill the

insurer with misgivings. And what in fact has he done? He has identified himself with her. If she goes off like a squib on New Year's Eve, he goes off too, and even if that does not happen, he has put himself into pretty close affinity with the danger."

And Knud Hjortö expresses the quintessence of his many fine and profound descriptions of love between young men and young women in the following way: *

"Woman builds herself a rampart of man's constancy, behind which, without danger to herself, she may inflict injury on him; but if the war is to be brought to an end, man must himself tear down this rampart."

What he means is that in the dawn of almost every love affair there comes a psychical point where the man's stability and strength of feeling, which the woman is quick to perceive, begin to tempt her to make game of him. This either makes him very miserable, or, if he is above the average, it makes him force himself to pay her in her own coin, which very soon cures her. This inborn cruelty, which goes by the name of Woman's innocent coquetry, is one of the surest signs that her emotional nature normally possesses neither the depth nor the seriousness of Man's. For just as all kindness is derived from sympathy—the power of suffering with others—and this again from the power of oneself suffering (and rejoicing), so all malice is derived from cruelty, and this again from a *lack* of the power of suffering. This is the true explanation of the fact that children and women are the most cruel of mankind; children

* *Dengang man var ung*, p. 133.

because they have not yet suffered to any extent and therefore do not understand the pain they cause, women because their emotional nature as well as their intellect is circumscribed and stunted as compared with that of the grown man. In fact this propensity for playing with a man's best feelings and with love is to such an extent innate in Woman that she is never really content until she has tried her hand at the game, though she will not be happy unless she loses it. And this she will do, if the man is clever enough to see through her and strong enough to be on his guard. But even if he wins, every real man's confidence in the other sex receives its first severe shock when he thus discovers that she is ready early and late to make fun of the most sacred things, and many a man never forgives a woman for so much as attempting it, even though she may hasten to do penance and they afterwards marry and have many children: the sting rankles, and his reserve in the presence of a creature of so dangerous a nature, even in love, which is supposed to be Woman's special domain, never deserts him entirely; in his case the eventual divorce dates from the moment when, even in the dawn of love, she tried to drive him into a corner.

Allied to this general shallowness and volatility of Woman's emotions as compared with Man's, is another well-known phenomenon: her respect for *results*, her interest in him who at least appears the stronger, and her corresponding coolness and often perfidy towards him who is pursued by misfortune and defeat. And it is easy to understand that this must be a part of her

nature from the dawn of the ages: in general she *cannot* be otherwise. For hundreds of thousands of years she has been forced and accustomed to follow the strongest; for hundreds of thousands of years it was her lot simply to wait and see who was killed and who won in the fight for her person. How can we expect the relatively short time, the few centuries (a trifle compared with the ages of mankind's life upon earth) in which the struggle for existence has assumed milder forms, to have changed this deeply rooted feature of her character, which causes her, with more consistency than Man and with a refinement of cruelty unknown to him, to obey the watchword *Vae victis?* There is therefore no reason, and it is far from being our intention, to take Woman to task for her worship of success—her vocation is the nest and the young, and it is natural that she should choose to follow him who can best secure her in this; she seeks security for her task of reproduction, and seldom has patience to share a man's difficulties, if it can be avoided; that is, if she can find another with better assurances of prosperity. No man complains on this account, and these remarks are not directed against Woman, but against false ideas of her and of what one can and ought to expect of her emotional nature. On the contrary, we may derive advantage from this instinct of hers for danger, as many a young woman scents the difficulties and risks of a man's undertaking sooner and more surely than he himself. Therefore, my young friend, when your mistress gives you the go-by, as they so often do without assignable reason, look out, there is trouble in the wind, some scheme or

other is brewing against you, and she leaves you in good time, as the rats leave the ship. Don't waste an angry word on her, but keep instead a sharp look-out, set or shorten sail according to circumstances, and be prepared to meet the threatening storm with increased effort. If you escape disaster she will come back, sure enough. And then you will refuse to have anything to do with her, because you have been led to believe that it is Woman's nature to stand by the brave in the hour of danger; but she is not to blame for your being stuffed up with that old story when you were a boy, and you may just as well come to terms with her as with another, who would have done exactly the same.

This by no means implies that there are not to be found in Europe a great many noble and heroic feminine natures who would endure anything, who would die not one but ten deaths, if it were possible, rather than desert in the hour of misfortune the man who has seriously pinned his faith to them and to whom they have plighted their troth. By "many" I mean statistically speaking $1^0/_{000}$ (one in ten thousand, corresponding to genius and heroic nature among men), that is, in Denmark alone about 150. This really is many, perhaps too high an estimate, but this figure does not invalidate the rule set forth above, typical of the female sex as such: easy come, easy go.

And although in a lifetime of industrious observation I have only had the honour to meet with a single living example of these theoretical 150, I cherish a positively obsequious admiration for them all and am prepared to acknowledge such instances of heroism,

even when they do not concern me personally, in a key which will yield nothing to that of the troubadours themselves.

Even on the classical side at school we boys of fifteen were given the task of writing historical essays, with a free choice of subject. One chose Napoleon, another Frederick the Great, a third Christian II. I—to my excellent master's unfeigned astonishment—chose Karin Månsdatter, the mistress and afterwards the queen of the unhappy and finally half-demented, but highly gifted King Erik XIV of Sweden.*

Her match is only found three times in the written history of the North during the last thousand years: the Norwegian Queen Thyra, who, after the death of King Olaf (Tryggveson) at the battle of Svold, starved herself to death by eating an apple a day for nine days; Elisabeth, the faithful and high-minded Queen of Christian II, who—in spite of his affair with Dyveke—followed him into exile and beggary in Germany (but, be it remembered, she was the daughter of the Emperor Charles V, one of the most remarkable men Europe has produced), and Eleonora Christina, daughter of Christian IV, wife of Ulfeldt, whose celebrated "Lamentation" ("*Jammersminde*") is like

* For the information of non-Swedish readers: Erik XIV saw the fourteen-year-old Karin, daughter of a corporal, in the market-place at Stockholm, where she contributed to the support of her family by selling nuts. He provided for her education, and married her in 1569, by which time she was twenty and had already borne him two children. She followed him in his fall and voluntarily shared his imprisonment, until she was forcibly separated from him and he was put to death (1577). She lived, honoured and respected by all for her gentleness, magnanimity and courage, at Ljuxala in Finland, until 1612. She is buried in Åbo Cathedral.

a shining epic of constant and intrepid woman's love. But the very fame which attends such instances of feminine constancy of feeling—when a woman does what many people regard as a matter of course, in sharing her husband's fortunes, for better, for worse, even if she is not obliged to do so—the very incense which is lavished on the altar of a faithful and self-sacrificing woman's love, is itself enough to prove us right in saying that it is so rare as to be without practical significance in Man's general struggle for existence.

If anyone is still in doubt, I will merely ask him to examine the available material regarding soldiers' wives of all countries during the Great War, hundreds of thousands of whom, while their husbands, lovers, brothers lay in the trenches, conducted themselves in a way which defies description, and would make one despair of the whole female sex if one had not mastered the fact once for all that the intensity of Woman's feeling can only be maintained when the man is present and victorious.

(*c*) *Ethics.*

The concluding remarks of the last section bring us already into our third main psychical field: Woman's volition and character, and in particular the psychical characteristics which are usually classed under ethics and morality. Here the conflict of opposing views is even more violent than elsewhere. From the dawn of time the question of the moral constitution of the female sex has been the object of the most exhaustive discussions in every philosophy and every culture,

and the answers range between the most extreme points of view: from the assertion that all altruism, and for that matter all ethics, has its first and original source in maternal love (Höffding's *Etik* *)—that is, in a womanly instinct, though not necessarily in a womanly morality—to the allegation that Woman's character, by reason of fundamental natural tendencies, entirely precludes the possibility of her possessing any independent morality of her own (Weininger, *Geschlecht und Charakter*).

Space here forbids our giving this question the exhaustive exposition it deserves, but in what follows we shall emphasize one or two points essential to forming a judgment upon it.

There are, in particular, two traits of character in which the normal woman is so sharply distinguished from the normal man that the difference affects the comparative usefulness and applicability of the male and female type in *social* life. I refer to the attitude of the two sexes to justice and truthfulness. Here the principle holds good that Woman's inborn capacity for being just and truthful is considerably inferior to Man's. This does not imply that men are always just and women always unjust—there are many unjust men and many women who would like to be just—but it is to be understood in the sense that Man, even when he is unjust, almost always has a sense of right and wrong, and if he does wrong it is either because he is wicked or because he is in want; whereas Woman

* Especially Vol. II, p. 276: "Hereby (*i.e.*, in bearing and rearing children) woman becomes the weaker sex, and hereby her nature is rendered purer and better than man's."

as a rule does wrong in something like a state of innocence, since her psychical organ for distinguishing between good and evil seems but little developed. She judges persons and things from personal points of view, coloured by feeling and passion, and can only exceptionally rise to what we men call an objective, purely impersonal view of the world about her. But here another factor of special significance enters in: her physical and psychical inferiority as compared with Man. That this, at any rate in primitive times, the longest period, involved a certain pressure upon her (not to be understood as oppression, though it often involved *subjection*, which is quite another thing), is a matter of course, and that this pressure in certain psychical domains induced, or at any rate encouraged, the development of certain mental qualities, tending to compensate Man's excessive physical and mental superiority, is only what we might expect; and having once arrived at this biological point of departure, it is not difficult either to recognize or to appraise these psychical characteristics in Woman. She balances her physical and psychical weakness as opposed to Man mainly by *cunning*, as has always been the way of the naturally weaker part in dealing with the naturally stronger, and as is instanced by the weak man's conduct towards the strong man. This explains the observation, confirmed time after time by the student of human nature, that honesty, candour, truthfulness and justice are ordinarily the privilege of the *strong*, and that many of these *good* qualities, as Man's morality calls them, are not always a sign of true spiritual goodness in the individual concerned,

so much as of superior strength, which, indeed, may often be combined with a certain brutality; while, on the other hand, cunning, disingenuousness, untruthfulness and injustice are the weapons of the *weak* in the struggle for existence, and need by no means always be connected with inhumanity or depravity. These fundamental differences in the male and female character are very familiar to the popular mind, and are crystallized in such proverbs as "Man in craft is quick and clever, Woman's wiles go on for ever," and "A man's a man, a word's a word." In all countries and in all ages there has been philosophizing and, we may say, querulizing over this general untrustworthiness in Woman, and, on the other hand, much good energy has been wasted in making war on it; and it is in this field that those Feminists who admit an essential difference between the moral qualities of the two sexes still expect great things of Woman's recently achieved liberation from male influence and her equality in every sphere. Both views fail to appreciate the true nature of the matter. It is unreasonable of all the misogynists to abuse Woman for her lack of mental stability, to use a mild expression, just as unreasonable as to abuse the doe for not having antlers; but, of course, it is absolutely unscientific to expect that such pre-eminently sex-determined traits of the female character, especially in her relations with Man, should be modified in the course of a few generations. In the most favourable circumstances we should have to reckon with millenniums to arrive at equality of the sexes in this sphere alone.

Schopenhauer has developed a similar line of argu-

ment in the following words,* which show his attitude to be as little hostile as our own towards the female sex, on account of the divergence of Woman's character in these respects from the normal male standard.

"Therefore we shall see that *injustice* is the primary defect of the feminine character. This arises from her lack of judgment and deliberation, already set forth, but is further assisted by her being compelled by Nature, as the weaker part, to resort, not to strength, but to cunning; from this she derives her instinctive disingenuousness and her ineradicable propensity for lying. For just as Nature furnished the lion with claws and fangs, the elephant and the wild boar with tusks, the bull with horns and the octopus with a screening fluid, so has she endowed Woman with the power of dissembling, for her protection and defence, and in this form Nature has allotted to Woman as much power as she gave to Man in physical strength and reason; dissembling is thus innate in Woman and therefore almost as much a property of the stupid as of the clever woman. To make use of this power on every occasion is therefore just as natural to her as it is to the creatures we have mentioned to use *their* weapons when attacked, and in doing so she feels in a way that she is within her rights. Therefore a perfectly truthful and undissembling (*unverstelltes*) woman is perhaps an impossibility. It is precisely for this reason that they (women) so easily see through dissembling in others, so that it is not advisable to try such tactics on them. But the primary defect here

* Ueber das Weib, *Parerga und Paralipomena*, Vol. II. Leipzig, 1877.

dwelt upon and its attendant circumstances are the origin of duplicity, faithlessness, treachery, ingratitude, etc."

When as a young man I became acquainted with this view for the first time, it almost scandalized me, and to many men of younger years—and by no means the least intelligent—this attitude will appear almost blasphemous, when the white man's innate idealistic and idealizing view of Woman is borne in mind. He who, in addition to his idealism, does not possess some realistic sense, power of unprejudiced thinking, experience, and, in particular, strength to free himself from fortuitous currents of fashion in his views of the relations between the sexes, will be saddled his whole life long with an entirely illusory idea of Woman; and we might well leave these illusions undisturbed, were it not that practical conclusions have been drawn, especially in the sphere of *social* life, which, as we shall see in Chapter VII, render these illusions dangerous, not only to the private relations between the sexes—which perhaps would be of less importance—but to the whole basis of our civilization, which will be blown to pieces beyond the possibility of reconstruction *if* these errors are permitted to endure. Most men see through them, but not until it is too late—when they have been through the whole hard school of life and experience and there learnt the results of acting upon the assumption of Woman's moral similarity (to use a geometrical term) to Man. They discover at last with horror that while Man only lies when the knife is at his throat and more often than not to save a woman or a friend, and a friend

never lies to his friend, Woman, and especially the woman in love, who, of course, has most at stake, will avail herself of falsehood early and late, even when such a course is unreasonable and totally unnecessary; which goes far to prove that falsehood is a part of her nature, since otherwise she would only have recourse to it in cases where she might be considered forced to do so for some reason or other. And whereas a man who has resorted to a lie—when at his wit's end and every other road seemed barred—will be made perfectly miserable by its detection, a woman seldom feels any real regret or compunction at being caught out. As a rule it only puts her into a rage, and instead of trying to regain the man's confidence by a new and better life, she often renounces her allegiance and fidelity to him because he would not let her lie in peace. All this becomes perfectly comprehensible and forgivable on our biological view of the matter; we simply must not allow her to exercise influence in provinces where objectivity, justice and veracity are of decisive importance, in particular to the well-being of society. Here we are on common ground with many philosophers who maintain that only Man is *social*, while Woman is essentially asocial by nature; her character lacks essential qualifications for taking part freely and on her own account in the construction and development of society. We shall return to this point later.

Meanwhile no inconsiderable proportion of men—using the adjective in a qualitative as well as a quantitative sense—never arrive at a recognition of this truth in spite of all experience; or perhaps they will not

confess it, either to themselves or others. Let us first consider those who do not penetrate to the depths of Woman's true nature. They are hindered and obstructed by the very fact that the difference between the male and female psyche is so immense, the distances in every respect are so formidable, that it is extremely difficult for the normal masculine intellect to get to the bottom of the normal feminine psyche.* It is not easy for him to get outside his own spiritual sphere, stable, profound and upright as it may be in itself: he judges her and her actions and enquires into her *motives* with the aid of his masculine range of ideas, and as the central secret of the *incommensurability of character* of the two sexes is never revealed to him, he falls into one of two extremes: he either spends his whole life sighing over Woman's enigmatical nature and idealizes this enigmatical quality as though it were a sort of asset, since mankind in all ages has been prone to admire, or at any rate to be more attracted by the mysterious and apparently complicated than by clearness, simplicity and honesty; or else he consoles himself by making a poem of Woman and attributing to her in imagination precisely those qualities that he has never found in any woman. His idealization thus becomes the expression of a not unnatural, and in any case an honourable desire on the part of the white man to find a woman who is intellectually and morally his equal. But in this way the European literary portrait of Woman becomes completely out of drawing, and the young man is led still more astray: the aloofness of

* "Who hath fully understood *how unknown* to each other are Man and Woman?" Nietzsche, *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, Vol. III.

the white man's dream of Woman from the stern reality becomes to a great extent the very substance of poetry, but leads precisely on that account to the further obscuring of his apprehension of feminine nature, to the permanent misleading of each succeeding generation of European men, who only discover when it is too late, and then only imperfectly, how Nature and Poetry have conspired to play a trick with them.*

Perhaps some people will find this view of Woman's nature rather severe. It is permissible to draw the attention of such objectors to the fact that women's *own* judgment of their sisters in all concrete cases is even more severe than that of the most critical of men. It will, of course, be objected at once that it is inconsistent of a man who will not allow Woman to be fully trustworthy or accountable in moral questions to appeal to her evidence on any point. Naturally it is to be used with caution, but where there is no question of female jealousy or other sexual rivalry, her opinion of another woman's character cannot be entirely disregarded; in the first place, because her psychological sense and her *instinctive* knowledge of human nature, or at any rate interest in persons,†

* Thomas Krag in his book *Det Allerhelligste* (1907) has a poem (p. 239) which very poignantly expresses the frightful experience it is for an outstanding masculine nature to awake from dreams and poetry to reality in this connection.

† No doubt the only sphere in which all are agreed as to her superiority, which, however, mainly depends on Man being far more interested in affairs and facts. As soon as he is forced by necessity to turn his attention and his intellect to questions of personality and character, he again as a rule asserts his superiority. Cf. Margarethe von Kemnitz, *op. cit.*, p. 62, though we do not entirely share her views.

are unquestionably greater than Man's; in the second place, because she judges Woman and her motives *by herself*, which, of course, a man cannot do without overestimating her precisely on that account, as we have already pointed out. The method then is to begin by attempting as thorough an analysis as possible of a woman's action and its motives, whereby as a rule we arrive at two, three or more possibilities, without their bringing us any nearer to the matter as affecting her character, even after years of secret and open observation of her; and not till then do we consult other women about the case, preferably those who know her in other relations of life. We shall then find almost always that, while in choosing among several possible explanations a man usually inclines to the one most advantageous to the woman concerned, the women almost invariably interpret the case and its motives so severely and unmercifully that most men refuse for years to admit even the possibility of a woman being right about women and reject her testimony against her sister as envy or jealousy, which, of course, are to be found in Woman even in cases where there does not seem to be a question of any sort of sexual rivalry.

The true facts regarding Woman's moral nature are also obscured by the circumstance that there are several gradations of Woman's typically deficient trustworthiness, corresponding to the divergence of the intellect from a certain average. Let us suppose, for the sake of clearness, that we can express the accountability (trustworthiness, sense of responsibility and aptitude for society) of the typical male character by

the figure 0·85, varying up to 1·00 (*absolute* firmness of character in every contingency of fortune) and down to 0·70 (grave vacillation under the influence of special circumstances and on particular occasions), then perhaps Woman's typical point of departure might be expressed by the figure 0·70, varying in the most favourable exceptional cases to 0·85 (almost masculine honesty) and in the least favourable to 0·55 and below (that is, to semi-irresponsibility in moral questions). Thus we see a good many women approaching the masculine type of character, in honesty, endurance and sense of responsibility, but assuredly still more of an innate untrustworthiness and ethical irresponsibility so obvious that in many civilizations, including those of Europe both in antiquity and in the middle ages, it has been deemed inadvisable to allow a woman's evidence in a court of law to have necessarily the same force as a man's. Thus in medieval jurisprudence it took the evidence of two independent women to outweigh that of a man; and the ancients, whose knowledge of Woman was by no means inferior to that of our day, had grave doubts about putting a woman on her oath. Every judge knows too how much more frequent perjury is among women than among men, and many a recent judicial error is due to the fact that the present has forgotten what was known to the past—that for many reasons a woman's word is in general not worthy of the same credit as a man's. This is not the slander of misogynic men; many women know and admit that it is so and must necessarily be so. Thus the American authoress Adela Rogers St. John prefaces a sketch: "What Men do

Women like Best?" with the following words: "In nine cases out of ten you will be able to point out why a certain woman attracts a man; for men are not encumbered with so much wiliness and can be honest. They have been honest for centuries. But women? My father was a great lawyer and had seen all sorts of women in the witness-box; he used to say that it was perfectly impossible for a woman to speak the truth where a man was concerned."* Let it not be objected, however, that women's want of veracity only applies to her relations with men and matters in which a man is concerned. In the first place, these relations are the most important, and in the next, there can scarcely be many of life's concerns in which a woman's evidence plays a part without a man being in some way or other involved in them.

It is therefore no mere chance that it has devolved upon Man—quite apart from his physical and mental superiority—to conceive, create and construct the social morality and jurisprudence upon which our civilization rests, and that those communities and families which bear the strongest impress of Man and Man's ethics are the healthiest, the most vigorous and have the greatest power of resisting all kinds of demoralization. The French sociologist Dumont as long ago as 1890 expressed this law in the following terms: † "In every society which is advancing towards moral progress it is Woman who brings up the rear, or keeps pace in all modesty.‡ In every society which

* Quoted from *Ny Tid* (Oslo), May 21, 1924.

† *Dépopulation et Civilisation*, Paris, 1890, p. 48.

‡ For this reason classical antiquity designated the female sex by the happy name of *sexus sequior*, "the following sex."

is tending towards decadence, she falls a victim to (moral) corruption; it is *she* who leads the way and is the first to take the plunge." When Dumont wrote his book, a generation ago, it may have seemed paradoxical; our contemporaries, who have already seen thousands of women use the liberty men gave them to pass wholesale resolutions inviting the legislature not only to allow abortion, but even to give them the right to murder new-born infants with impunity, will admit with a shudder that Dumont spoke with greater truth than perhaps he himself was aware.

Under this head, of course, falls the whole subject of the state of morality which has resulted in our present-day society, mainly from Woman and her ethics having been allowed ever-increasing latitude both within and without the family. Here again we must content ourselves with a single picture. In our childhood no respectable woman could imagine the bare possibility of walking alone in the streets of Copenhagen after ten o'clock at night, and to this day in Southern Europe a woman is hopelessly compromised if she is known to have done such a thing even once. Nowadays women, even of the youngest age, go about everywhere and at all hours unaccompanied or in groups of two or three girl friends; from the age of thirteen or fourteen they are allowed to go out into the world uncontrolled and unattended. And the result—in our young days Copenhagen contained about 500 public prostitutes, whose record is contained in the annual police reports of the time, besides a couple of thousand secret prostitutes; now, by the evidence of all observers, there are about 20,000 secret

prostitutes in Copenhagen alone, though the city has only doubled its size in the intervening generation. And what the emancipated women, married and unmarried, permit themselves in their thousands may be read in the police reports on such matters as the behaviour of young women towards the crews of foreign warships, or in the notes of medical men regarding the pastimes of modern wives. As regards Denmark, information on this subject will be found in Dr. Hans Kaarsberg's books, especially *Feminismens Agitation i Danmark*.

4. "Garçonne" and "Married Prostitute"

Associated with the type of bachelor girl known to us from Margueritte's notorious book as *La Garçonne*, is another, described not without a certain sympathy by the French authoress, Madeleine Marx—the woman whose moral conduct is entirely unfettered by marriage.

This type, which has become fairly common, especially in the Germanic countries, has been characterized by the German authoress, Maria Esperg, as *Die Ehedirne* (the married prostitute) in her book of the same name (Dresden, 1924).

By this term, however, we are not to understand a phenomenon such as has arisen, for example, in Copenhagen as a result of the abolition of public prostitution by the law of October 1906, where the professional harlot evades the law by marrying, since she escapes the penalties of prostitution if she can point to other means of support, and in this respect she is covered by marriage. It is not these, after all

comparatively rare instances, which are referred to by the term "married prostitute," but rather the increasingly frequent cases where a woman avails herself of the freedom she nowadays enjoys, married or not, to come and go when and where she pleases, and occasionally abuses this emancipation by carrying on some form of prostitution, without regard for her husband or children, her social position and so on, to say nothing of morality.

The prevalence of both these types, *garçonne* and *ehedirne*, may be studied in the night clubs of any great city. Both materially and ideally—if I may be allowed the expression—these types are a consequence of the feministic tendencies and agitation of our time, and of the resulting laws and customs. On this point Maria Esperg, says very aptly in the introduction to her book: "It has been asserted that all our sexual troubles may be referred to the tragic fact that the barriers between lady and harlot are being more and more broken down. I regard this assertion as correct."

The history of the world, and especially that of our race, has known many periods in which Woman, or at any rate a considerable proportion of the sex, degenerated in a similar way. Not only in the latter days of the Roman Republic and under the Empire, but also in Greece after the Peloponnesian War, to some extent in the troubadour period, during the Black Death about 1350, and later during the French Revolution, when the Convention proclaimed the Rights of Man, we find striking parallels to these types of our own day, which might be called the Woman's Century.

It is everywhere apparent that this feminine aberration is closely connected with a relaxation of the matrimonial laws and of manners, if it is not a consequence of wars and other disasters, which involve an actual restriction of Man's control and authority over the family. As an example of this state of things I take the liberty of quoting a Danish historian,* who seems favourably disposed to the modern emancipation of women, while he writes as follows regarding that of ancient Rome:

"In her husband's house she (the Roman wife of the beginning of our era) was a stranger. No rights or duties bound her to her husband, no economic partnership held them together. The wife was no longer the honoured and respected, and—though formally without rights—authoritative and influential mistress of the house (*materfamilias*), but purely and simply the wife (*uxor*), who was merely 'delivered over' to the husband in order to provide him with offspring. No legal tie bound her to the children. There was no legal relationship between them, and—originally—no mutual right of inheritance. The children belonged exclusively to the father and followed him. If she had formerly been the children's maternal 'sister,' she was now without any kind of authority. In the *house* the father, as formerly, ruled supreme. The state of things which the elder Cato had foreseen and opposed, the decline from old Roman custom and morals, had reached its full development in the Rome of Cæsar and Augustus. The ancient Roman family, the household firmly united by ties of religion and economy, the legal

* Dr. C. W. Westrup, in *Politiken*, March 4, 1924.

consequence—and formal foundation—of which was common submission to the sovereign authority of the *paterfamilias*, had definitely collapsed under the pressure of a violent and obstinate individualism. The deep sense of solidarity, which under the protection of rigid legal reforms had united man and wife, parents and children, in a natural community of interests, the health and strength of which depended upon a constant direct exercise of self-assertion and self-denial, a constant harmonious practice of the most elementary human virtues, had been changed by a revolutionary social development, of which we can only form a vague general idea, into the opposite extreme. Instead of unconditional dependence (in a formal, legal sense), there was unconditional legal independence. The wife—as an independent individual—was free; but marriage—as a conjugal relationship—was dissolved.

"For a long time the injurious social effects of this state of things had been remarked, and since the last days of the Republic the number of unmarried men had been on the increase. The wife's free and independent position, not only in the family, but also in public life, was displeasing to the unmarried men. Nor did the extreme facility of divorce, of which the Roman matrons knew how to take advantage, coupled with the general laxity of morals, render the connubial state particularly attractive. Moreover, the ever-increasing demand for luxury helped to make marriage an expensive affair. Far better, therefore, to live a bachelor; and they did not marry."

A little reflection will make it apparent that the development which from a purely juridical point of

view has found a provisional conclusion in the recent matrimonial legislation of the three Scandinavian countries, has much in common with the emancipation of Woman in ancient Rome, especially as regards the middle class, which frequently gives the tone to the rest.

In particular it is worthy of remark that the frequency of marriage and the number of children are on the decline, while, on the other hand, divorce is greatly on the increase. Thus, if we take Denmark, where even before the War divorce was relatively frequent, we find that the number of cases has doubled in the last ten years. The increase has been specially marked since the new law of June 30, 1922, came into force, and as regards Greater Copenhagen, the last available statistics show no less than 1150 divorces in a year, or about fourteen per cent. of the marriages for that year.* Should this state of things continue, we shall rapidly reach a point where the annual number of divorces will approach the annual number of marriages. But obviously the whole character of marriage is radically altered thereby, from a lifelong relation, a primary social cell, to a purely erotic transitional phase; and the wife, instead of being the faithful guardian of the children and of the house, becomes—well, what else than precisely the "married prostitute" described by Maria Esperg? And as we have since been given, under continued pressure from the Feminists, a new law which further enfeebles the serious character of marriage, making it a matter of free

* *Statistiske Efterretninger*, 17 Aargang, No. 9. Copenhagen, March 25, 1925.

contract, not founded on any kind of authority, there is every reason to suppose that divorces will go on increasing. At the same time presumably marriages will become less and less frequent, as men wake up to the fact that present-day marriage is an institution which not only halves the husband's rights and doubles his duties, as Schopenhauer already remarked, but has now so far deteriorated that it no longer offers him any advantages which he cannot obtain better and cheaper outside matrimony.

In Norway matters are on the whole distinctly better, and it is only in Oslo that one remarks a similar line of development to that of Denmark. The number of divorces in Oslo in the years 1901–4 was about 60 annually; in 1911–15 about 200 annually, and in the most recent years about 250 annually. Viewed in proportion to the marriages contracted in the same years, the divorces in Oslo twenty years ago amounted to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., ten years ago to 7 per cent., and now to 9 per cent.; this is still some distance from the 14 per cent. which we reached in Copenhagen in 1923.

In any case it is of no use to comfort ourselves with the reflection that a corruption similar to that which contributed powerfully to the ruin of the nations of antiquity cannot invade our own world, since to some extent it has already done so. It was notably apparent during and after the Great War that the feminine psyche, even of the better sort, is incapable of living independently and without the support of a man's authority. The champions of the older movement for feminine emancipation were especially shocked by the

fact that soldiers' wives, not only in famine-stricken Germany but in victorious England, threw themselves by thousands into the arms of the first man who would look after them and their children, while their husbands, fathers or brothers were away in the trenches. Thus Mrs. W. F. Dummer, in her preface to W. I. Thomas's book, *The Unadjusted Girl*, writes:

"One of the surprises of the war work was the definite number of married women carrying on, not commercial prostitution, but clandestine relationships. They were not vicious but immature. Their husbands being away, they seemed unable to get on without the aid of a friendly man. The need was not money but affectionate companionship."

As will be seen from the quotation, this English champion of Woman's Rights still clings to the belief that in time Woman will become different from what she has always been, and that she will be able to maintain her moral standard without the support of Man. Fortunately there are other women who are more intelligent, and these are beginning to make themselves heard. Gina Lombroso, the daughter of the celebrated Italian anthropologist, has recently published a book, *The Soul of Woman*, in which she advocates views that coincide in the main with those I have put forward here. I shall confine myself to one quotation, which is very appropriate in this connection:

"There is much clamour to-day for laws that will limit man's demands and authority. Oceans of ink have been spilled to describe in dark colours the terrible consequences of masculine despotism and exploitation, to ridicule the traditions which make the

husband, the father, the brother responsible for, and frequently the cruel judges of, the virtue of wife, daughter and sister. . . .

"Society requires woman to be moral, to refrain from using the artifices of coquetry which she has at her command and which would bring general confusion into the social complex. And who can supervise the fulfilment of this necessary law except the husband, father or brother? The ridicule that is cast upon him as a result of woman's misconduct expresses society's scorn for him because he did not know how to fulfil the mandate incumbent on him. But if this ridicule can harm the least commendable sort of women, it is most helpful to the women worthy of respect, who thus, because of society's opinion, rise in men's esteem. The authority which society gives man over woman creates, furthermore, when he does not abuse it, closer bonds between men and women." *

In the older Roman law this authority of the *paterfamilias* over the wife was designated by the word *manus*. Figuratively the man held his hand over the woman, both for protection and command. By her liberation she escaped by degrees from his hand—*e manu;* it is precisely from this expression that we have the word *emancipation*, which thus means that Woman has escaped from the hands of Man.

It has not been appreciated hitherto that by this emancipation Woman has lost more than she gained, and I have therefore tried to show that it is in her own intelligent interest to place her destiny once more in the hands of Man. Naturally, however, I do not

* Gina Lombroso, *The Soul of Woman*, London, 1924, pp. 223 f.

mean to say that this state of things is devoid of risk; I simply mean that it is better for all parties, and especially for Woman, than the state to which the emancipation of Woman has led in all ages. Female emancipation and female degeneration are inseparably connected, in ancient Rome as in modern Sodom and Gomorrah.

Nevertheless the Feminists continue their attacks upon the inconsiderable remnants of Man's preferential rights. In Norway and Denmark an ardent feminine minority is agitating to have the ministry of the Church thrown open to women, though the majority of congregations, at any rate in Denmark, has decided against it. In France as in England the women are knocking at the doors of Parliament. It is true that the English women possess the franchise, but not before the age of thirty, and they now seek to have this reduced to twenty-one, the same age as the men. Such a law in England, which lost many men in the War, would bring women into an absolute majority among the electorate and might thus render men politically impotent. For that matter such a state of things might already have come about in Scandinavia, where women in all essentials have the same franchise as men and at the same age. And as there is always a rather larger percentage of women than men, this is sufficient to enable them, by a consistently conducted "Women's United Front," to fill a majority of parliamentary seats with women or with men representing women's views. To this extent we *have* already—in theory—introduced the Woman's State, and if this has not acquired practical significance

it is due to the feminine votes being distributed among the old parties, while women have not contributed any new factor to political life. I share the opinion that the men, of our generation at any rate, have not acquitted themselves so well as to render some new factor undesirable; only I do not believe it will come from the women, and, if it does, I am certain that the state of society in most respects will become even worse than under men's leadership.

The development of our race and its triumphant progress throughout the world may be expressed in the following words: "The men of all other races rule over their women, while we (white men) rule over all other men; but over us again our women rule. If each of us deliberately showed himself just and superior in dealing with his woman, we should not have so much trouble with the feminine community. Now, however, our liberty, which has been lost in the home, is trodden underfoot also in public life and crushed by feminine unruliness. We abandon the licentious sex to its own domineering nature, and yet we hope that it will set bounds to its own self-will. In truth, Woman desires freedom, or rather licence, in all things; and when once she has been placed on an equality with us she will quickly thrust us aside."

These words appear to me to characterize fairly well the morality of the modern emancipated woman and the dangers it involves, and yet they were uttered over two thousand years ago. They are, in fact, a literal quotation * from the elder Cato's speech in the

* Quoted after Dr. Heilborn, *Weib und Mann*, Berlin, 1924, p. 125.

Forum in the year 195 B.C., the only difference being that I have substituted the words " we white men " for " we Romans." A more striking indication that we are on the same road and heading for the same fate (even though some time may elapse before it be accomplished) can scarcely be imagined.

Faced with the fact that the so-called liberation of Woman results in licentiousness and divorce scandals to which we have to seek a parallel in the worst period of degeneration of ancient Rome, the Feminists fall back on their last resort: " Man alone is to blame if Woman sinks so low; had *he* only left her alone, no harm would have been done! "

This " argument " can only be dealt with in a wider connection and with a more intimate knowledge of the special psycho-erotic characteristics of the two sexes. We shall return to this later; meanwhile we shall briefly discuss the possibility of a future " sexual applanation," although we have already seen that no such reconciliation of sexual differences has hitherto been accomplished.

5. Sexual Applanation (Equalization of Sexual Differences)

Every cubic millimetre of man's blood contains half a million more red corpuscles than a cubic millimetre of woman's blood, and woman has relatively more water (80 per cent.) in her blood than man (75 per cent.). This is certainly one of the many peculiarities which by facilitating a more plentiful and rapid renewal of the bodily cells confer on man a greater

mental power of resistance and a more enterprising spirit. Even if science should one day succeed in making the chemical composition of woman's blood approximate to that of man, this would certainly react on other of her functions, which are just as important to the maintenance and development of the species as those of man; and so we should have come no further, or perhaps not so far as before. The essence of the matter is that all Man's qualities, including those in which to a certain extent he resembles Woman, yet bear the impress of his being a *man*, while, on the other hand, those of Woman are always womanly and bear witness to the fact that her whole being is determined by her sex. This is expressed as follows by the Norwegian physician, Dr. Winge: *

"The difference of sex is fundamental. Both bodily and mentally the difference between the typical man and the typical woman is all-pervading. The difference is by no means confined to the sexual organs; on the contrary, not a single organ is exactly alike in the two sexes, since the whole organism of each appears to be built up of its own peculiar material, a masculine 'arrhenoplasma' and a feminine 'thelyplasma.' The physiological processes are also different; thus the inner metabolism differs in an important respect in man and woman. This radical difference of material and function determines an essential dissimilarity in a great number of bodily and mental qualities, as one group of these appears to be connected with arrhenoplasma and another with thelyplasma. Closely related to this is the essential difference between

* In *Samtiden*, Kristiania, 1907, p. 256.

the character of the sexual life of man and woman; in particular the mutual relation among the instincts we are accustomed to include in the term 'sexual instinct' differs in man and woman. To this we must add the fundamental difference that woman's sexual function begins where man's ends, and extends over months and years."

When we have mastered this we shall no longer be surprised by the fact that investigation of, for instance, the inhabitants of Northern Europe during the last six thousand years shows approximately the same differences between male and female skeletons from graves of the Stone Age as exist at the present day. Nor will it surprise us to see, by comparing the writers of classical Greece and Rome with those of to-day, that men and women differed widely in their mentality and chief qualities in antiquity as they do now, and therefore contended just as valiantly as to which was best, or, rather, which was worst. And the most important impetus to the formation of sexual types is more ancient than the human race; it is to be found not only among the anthropoid apes, but throughout the greater part of the animal kingdom, and sexual differentiation only ceases with the lowest living creatures known to us. We may remind the reader of what was said in the first section of this chapter: that this differentiation is not always to the advantage of the male, and especially among lower forms, such as spiders, scorpions and certain kinds of fish, we find instances where the female is the stronger, the more active and determined—if we may speak of determination and will at this stage of evolution.

From all this, in connection with what has been set forth in the last section, we must conclude *a priori* that any effort to promote or strengthen what is common to the two sexes must in its inmost essence be hostile to evolution and stultifying, and this makes the idea of female emancipation suspect from a profounder scientific point of view. In what follows we shall see practical proof of an incipient decline of intellectual culture precisely among such peoples of the present day whose education is conducted on feminist principles. To begin with we must characterize these modern educational principles rather more precisely.

In former times, from time immemorial in fact, the education of the rising generation was essentially the affair of the *family*, and thus peculiarly the Man's affair, as regards its main principles, since until recently the father was the family's centre of gravity in most respects. A glance at the history of peoples and tribes is sufficient to show that in the older type of family, importance was attached to training the boys to become *men* in the most emphatic sense of the word, and the girls to become women. As Winge pertinently remarks: "Family education, so far from trying to reduce the difference in character between boys and girls, laid stress on intensifying this difference."

Our ancestors, it is true, knew little of biology as a science, but to make up for this they had, as Winge says, keen and delicate instincts, which were evidently in league with the biological truth that every great advance in human existence, especially in the intellectual sphere, has been associated with an em-

phasizing of the sexual types, both physical and psychical.

In sharp contrast to this stands, as we all know, the modern system of education, which more and more neglects the home and its responsibility and transfers the centre of gravity to the school. Hitherto this development has been looked upon without question as an excellent step in advance, and only recently have voices been raised in opposition.* But the adoption by the school of the educational functions of the home would be less dangerous to society, if our schools were not placed to such an extent in the hands of women and conducted, even as concerns boys, on feminine principles. This tendency may be best observed in the American system of education, where it is most marked, partly because the American schools contain beyond comparison more female than male teachers, and partly because the whole educational system is adapted to the feminine psyche, both in the kind of knowledge it demands and in the form in which this knowledge is imparted. An American, Professor Traquair, con-

* Thus a highly esteemed Norwegian headmaster, Hr. Johnsen, recently made the following sensational utterance: "Don't trust the school; don't put your faith in the school. A pack of children left to themselves on a sandhill will give each other more knowledge and education than a dozen teachers can provide. We have exaggerated the importance of the school in this country. The education of the people has degenerated. It is nothing but theory and again theory. But life requires something else. Look at the difference between the young people in town and country. In the country children only go to school every other day; but don't they as a rule get on better than town children? Therefore I say to you, Stick to the three days a week school, don't ever give it up. For that is the best school, the only one that makes for bodily and mental growth. The home must be the chief educator." (*Dagsposten*, Oslo, March 26, 1925.)

tributed a few years ago to the *Atlantic Monthly* a remarkable article in which he stressed the danger of the growing feminization of the American school.

He points out among other things that the inborn difference between the mental qualities of boys and girls is often so slight in childhood that, to a certain extent at any rate, it can be effaced by education, and especially by co-education on feministic lines. The young man no doubt reacts against it, when he is fully grown; but it often requires the best years of his manhood to get rid of all the distorted ideas of the world and of Woman with which the feministic education imposed on him in childhood has filled him.

According to Professor Traquair the objects of specifically American education are: a continual state of activity, to be always doing something, to organize all sorts of more or less practical institutions; while deep thinking, theoretical knowledge, art and music are treated with indifference. Even Frau Alice Salomon, an observer favourably disposed towards American culture and towards Feminism, admits this in her letters from America.* According to Frau Salomon, one of the two most striking intellectual traits of American culture is "the intellectual and spiritual starvation of the masses, which is felt as a painful fact even in the narrow circles of the truly cultivated. From this arise the exaggerated manufacture of accomplishments, the machine-made amusements, and an atmosphere of artificial comradeship in the ever-extending lodges, clubs and secret societies, as well as in religious charlatanism. But all this does not

* *Kultur im Werden*, Berlin, 1924.

satisfy the hunger. There exist primitive psychical needs for which civilization alone cannot supply compensation. True personality, art and religion, with their natural warmth, inwardness, harmony and unification, can only thrive where not merely the intellect but the heart is devoted to true values and goodness.

"This, so far as it has been brought about in America, has been chiefly the work of woman. From this results the second striking trait: the *feminization* of American culture, for which hitherto women have laboured above all" (*op. cit.*, p. 68).

But as to the result of these endeavours Frau Salomon says elsewhere (p. 100, in the chapter on the cultural influence of Woman):

"The intellectual life of American women is in reality not an intellectual activity at all, but a social one. The realm of culture, which is almost entirely abandoned to them, exhibits negative features in science and art. If we refuse to allow the special stamp impressed by Woman on social life to pass for culture, and give to this word the unequivocal meaning it has in Germany, there is actually no American culture. And then we must also deny the possibility of a specifically feminine culture."

Thus by his education and milieu Man in America has reserved to himself only commerce and industry —the hunt for the dollars which Woman spends on her "culture," or, as Frau Salomon puts it (*op. cit.*, p. 69): "Thus they (the American men) gave their prosperity to wives and daughters, mothers and sisters, and left it to them to show the world the result of their work, making over to the women the leisure which they themselves

did not know how to use, in the naïve persuasion that the women had the capacity to employ it."

These observations fully bear out Professor Traquair's statement that Woman is without the capacity to acquire the strongest masculine qualities, and the result of her favoured cultural position is modern America. That this has led to material happiness—rendered possible by the great surplus of men produced by immigration—is another matter; but such a state of things must lead in the end to intellectual death.

Dr. Helmer Key in his impressions of America (1920) arrives at a similar result. Amongst other things he says that the strongly-marked amateurishness which characterizes many departments of American intellectual culture has a certain connection with the great influence exercised on this culture by American women. "In America, as we know, the man undertakes the economic and political work, the woman, on the other hand, the religious, moral, artistic and intellectual. This is, of course, a truth which requires some qualification. But on the whole woman lacks in these departments man's counterpoise, and perhaps still more his preponderance. There are signs, however, that the Americans themselves are beginning to be aware of this."

With this another Swedish observer is in agreement, a woman, Annie Åkerhjelm, whom we quote from Arnold Sölven's *Kätterier i Kvinnofrågan* : * "American cultural life is in the hands of woman. For this reason it is in the main poor and shallow, and the

* "*Heresies in the Woman Question.*" Uppsala and Stockholm, 1924, p. 92.

contribution of the United States to the scientific work of the world is by no means proportionate to their size and resources. . . . America is the pioneer country of our epoch—whether upward or downward is a question of values. American tendencies can be traced more or less in all countries belonging to our sphere of culture, and thereby American conditions acquire a universal significance. The feminine and material type of American culture is a phenomenon not confined to the New World."

All this is well worth our attention, since our North European civilization is bound in the same direction. We have not yet sunk so deep, but we shall end there and even deeper, unless our educational principles and our whole regulation of the relations between the sexes are restored to the old lines, which every profounder culture must follow, and has formerly followed, especially in the white man's world.

It results from this that the idea of co-education cannot be in harmony with genuine Germanic spirit, and it is hardly an accident that co-education in Denmark was introduced by Jews, and that in Norway, which is unquestionably the most virile of the Scandinavian countries,* opinion is decidedly against

* By this I mean that the sexual types are rather more sharply divided in Norway than in the other Scandinavian countries. I noticed a significant example of this when the pupils of an important Norwegian college were invited to vote for or against co-education. Of the 60 boys present all but one, and of the 40 girls all but 7 voted against it. Thus we find sound manly and womanly instincts strongly marked even at this comparatively early stage, and a number of other traits of the Norwegian psyche might be quoted in support of this view, which promise well for the future of the Norwegian people.

it, both on practical grounds in the State schools, and theoretically, as with Dr. Winge, who says (*l.c.*, p. 259): "If, however, the demand for uniformity of education be granted, we must begin at an age when the child's sexual type is not yet determined, and we must continue the same methods until the whole important period of pubescence is completed. This circumstance in itself involves a danger which is immensely greater than that occasioned by boys and girls being taught in the same schools, a state of things which in itself is by no means without its risks, perhaps outweighing its attendant advantages. The danger here pointed out will be accentuated in proportion as the age at which it is proposed to conclude elementary school education is postponed."

In these matters we often have to deal with "imponderabilia" which are not to be weighed and determined by purely intellectual processes, except in the case of the extremely rare persons in whom the intellect has risen to such heights that—at any rate to a certain extent—it takes the place of the instincts. We must therefore allow the latter a voice in these questions, or, as Nietzsche has put it even more incisively:

"To be mistaken in the fundamental problem of Man and Woman is to deny the abysmal conflict and the necessity of an eternally hostile tension; perhaps even to dream of the same rights, the same occupations, the same demands, the same duties; this is a *typical* sign of shallow-patedness, and a thinker who has shown himself shallow on this most dangerous point—shallow in his instincts!—must be put down as

altogether suspicious, nay, more, as exposed and unmasked; probably he will be found wanting in all the fundamental questions of life, including those of future life, and be incapable of reaching any profundity."

CHAPTER III

SPECIAL PSYCHO-EROTIC DIFFERENCES

In the preceding chapter we set forth and explained the fundamental differences between the two sexes in intellectual qualities, emotional nature and moral character. Far greater even than these are, however, the differences with respect to many of the phenomena which belong to and are directly connected with the sexual life of the two sexes. In certain fields, especially that of actual reproduction, this is immediately obvious and universally admitted, but there seems now to be an unwillingness to acknowledge the extent and bearing of these differences.

Man's occupation with sexual matters is normally but small, being for the most part confined to the act of coition itself, and therefore even in men of the most erotic and "sensual" nature it only demands an insignificant fraction of their time and powers, which are devoted practically entirely to work and some form of conflict. On the other hand, Woman's life, at any rate in her best years, is normally claimed almost exclusively by sexual phenomena: menstruation, pregnancy, parturition, suckling and bringing up children. If we take as the normal number of children the figure necessary to replace losses by mortality, accounting for childless marriages and providing for the

increase of population desirable for all races, and especially for the Nordic, we shall arrive at an average of about five children to each married woman. But this means that she is practically bound by and to her sexual life in its wider sense from her twenty-fifth to her fortieth year, that is, for the best part of her life, as is reasonable. An abbreviation of this period can only be brought about by artificial means, more or less injurious to the health of one of the three factors concerned (mother, child and husband); and in many cases the period lasts even longer, apart from extreme cases of no general significance.*

It is these facts that have led Weininger to the exaggeration that Woman is always sexual and *only* sexual, and usually has virtually no interests outside her sexual sphere.

Still more erroneous, however, is the opposite view, upheld in particular by many women Feminists, that Man alone is a sexual and sensual being in contra-

* Of course five children can be concentrated into half the time, but two years between each birth is most favourable to both parties (see H. Westergaard's researches in *Mortalität und Morbilität*, Jena, 1901); and one year for nursing the child ought to be the minimum and was so until a few generations ago.

Regarding the social and other dangers attending the artificial limitation of births, especially the French two-children system, which ought even now to be called the one-child system, we would refer to our work *Formerelse og Fremskridt*, Copenhagen, 1908. As to the repeated commendations of supposedly innocent means of preventing pregnancy, we would emphatically point out that these means are either effective, in which case they are injurious to health and dangerous to society in one way or another, or they are really innocuous, in which case they are ineffective to such a degree that they cannot be depended upon. The Feminists deny their harmfulness, because the *practical* possibilities of Feminism stand or fall with this artificial limitation.

distinction to Woman, who in their view would occupy the—supposedly higher—position of a non-sensual and non-sexual being. This confusion of ideas is, however, so common, and finds its support in a misunderstanding of certain psycho-erotic differences so fatal, that we must settle accounts with it once for all, the more so as such a settlement has never yet taken place; but now it is high time.

The psycho-erotic phenomena which at the first glance appear to support the misconception that Man, or the male in general, is more erotic, more "sexually" disposed and interested than Woman or the female are all connected with his greater activity, apparent at any rate, in the sexual processes between the two sexes. There is here, however, a considerable and instructive difference between Man and the world of mammals.

Among mammals reciprocal sexual interest is usually confined to a brief period of a few weeks or days, once (among hoofed or cloven-footed animals) or several times a year (among dogs, cats, etc.), known as the rutting season. During this comparatively brief period the sexual interest and inclinations of male and female are about equally strong, and we may often observe signs of longing, impulse and craving at least as pronounced in the female as in the male, who frequently defers decisive action until the female's inclination is beyond a doubt, although rape, or rather apparent rape, is not of rare occurrence.*

* Even among animals of the order of mammalia we may find opportunities of studying feminine dissembling in the sexual sphere: the female alternately tempts and avoids the male, who

But among mankind there is this difference, in many respects decisive, that no definite season can be marked out (any longer, at all events) during which the erotic interest is supreme, in contradistinction to the remaining, non-sexual period.

In any case, this is almost unconditionally true as far as Man is concerned. On the other hand, it is often asserted, especially in popular scientific works, that Woman is markedly periodic in her erotic inclinations, and in particular that her psycho-erotic interest is strongest in the proximity of the menstruation period. In our opinion and that of many medical men, this is an error: Woman's erotic desire can be excited in its full strength at any time, provided it is capable of being excited at all, by him who is able to do it—of which more later. But even if certain erotic maxima should exist in Woman round about the menstruation periods, these are so frequent that Woman, like Man, may also be said practically to have left the short, periodic rutting season of mammals for the permanent, unbroken, human sexual sphere—*dauerbrunst*, as the Germans aptly call it. We have, however, a reminder that it was once otherwise with the human race in the fact that in most countries more births, both legitimate and illegitimate, take place in winter than at any other season, showing that conception is most frequent in the spring. Thus, when all European Nature awakes to life, the otherwise permanent instinct

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then either makes short work of it (rape??), when he is tired of the game, or gives her up in favour of another, less coy individual. Many a man has been unjustly accused of rape precisely on account of the feminist judicial misapprehension of this fundamental psycho-sexual fact.

in human beings is also reinforced, so that their psycho-erotic interest is ordinarily somewhat stronger at that season than during the rest of the year. This phenomenon, well known to all statisticians, is the last relic of a primitive *periodicity* of the sexual instinct in the human race, but it is no longer of *practical* significance in the relations between the sexes.

All the greater practical importance attaches to another psycho-erotic phenomenon, which, be it noted, is the strongest, the most effective and the most decisive of all sexual phenomena. This is the difference in the degree of force with which the instinct itself occurs in the two sexes, both at the age of puberty and later, together with the difference in the degree of force with which erotic passion manifests itself and is satisfied in each sex.

In former times it was very general to deny Woman, especially the young woman, any real erotic longings, to say nothing of passion; more recently people have gone to the other extreme in attributing to her instincts as pronounced as those of Man; and to the objection that the facts normally tell a different tale, the answer is that she is forced by general custom and by dual sex-morality to conceal these erotic inclinations and pretend an indifference and coldness which she does not feel. In the main, however, medical science has now settled this dispute in favour of a compromise, holding that the erotically awakened and proficient woman may, indeed, often have passions and sensations as strong as Man's, but with the crucial difference, especially in the beginning, that the instinct in the young man is more concentrated in definite psycho-

physical-erotic channels and pursues more or less consciously a single object, while the sexual instinct in Woman is, so to speak, spread over her whole person and more or less "diluted" as distinguished from Man's *condensed* eroticism, and in her often assumes forms which conceal the underlying erotic basis—at any rate from the eyes of the young and inexperienced man.*

But the most important and most difficult of all the problems that fall under this head, namely the male and female individual's relation to and conduct in the decisive erotic process (coition), has never been solved either wholly or in part in Danish literature, medical or other; and since (as we shall see later) it is of critical importance to our judgment of one of the chief assertions of Feminism,† we must take the bull by the horns and answer it ourselves, on the basis of observation, reflection and a number of scientific investigations which have appeared quite recently, especially in Germany.

It cannot have escaped the attention of most men, particularly those of intellectual disposition and interests, that the psycho-erotic effects of the union of the sexes are far from being always the same on both sides. Whereas a powerful effect, rapidly increasing

* One of the commonest manifestations of (often) unconscious eroticism is women's sentimentality, of which even so decent an author as Poul Martin Möller says somewhere that it is a sign of sexual instinct, for which reason he does not like it in young women.

† Namely, that Man is grossly sensual, unfaithful and thus imperfect, while Woman is slightly sensual, faithful and to that extent perfect. Other Feminists, however (*e.g.* Helene Stocker), as indicated above, assert the contrary as regards Woman.

up to culmination, is sure, in fact inevitable, with almost every man (only excepting the rare cases of impotency), there is an extraordinary difference in the erotic receptivity of, in any case, women of our race, and—we may say at once—of most European women. Susceptibility to Man's erotic action varies among European women from reluctance (not disgust, which is very rare) to indifference, which is very frequent even with a "loved" man, through compliant participation up to great receptivity, and finally, in the case of some women, reaches a degree of passion and erotic excitation in no way inferior to Man's, indeed in certain extreme cases, which, however, are still rarer than their opposite (disgust), even exceeding Man's erotic sensations.

This enormous difference between the attitude to and pleasure in the decisive eroto-psychophysical phenomena of the normal man and woman has long attracted the attention of medical science in foreign countries, since many of the women to whom conjugal cohabitation is indifferent or even disagreeable sooner or later seek medical advice, either on their own initiative or at the suggestion of the husband, who soon feels disagreeably affected by the coldness of his sexual partner, the more so in proportion to his intelligence, and is even hurt by it if he is a man of delicate nature. The best and most typical examples of these conflicts, extremely frequent in our days, are to be found in Forel (*Die sexuelle Frage*), while any popular treatment of this problem is to be avoided.* The side of the

* Even so well-intentioned and, as far as physical culture is concerned, expert a man as J. P. Muller has not been altogether

matter which has most bearing on our subject is the question whether this typical difference between the erotic sensibility (in its intimate sense) of Man and Woman is normal and to that extent "natural," or whether it is to be regarded as a degenerate phenomenon in civilized woman, in the same way, for instance, as certain domestic animals, in the process of being tamed and "cultivated," are liable to certain more or less undesirable phenomena of domestication.

As regards the first part of the question, we may obtain a good approximate survey by dividing women into five main groups, each with its degree of erotic sensibility. In the first group we class women without any sort of susceptibility, including the few who regard conjugal cohabitation with positive distaste and only endure it as a necessary evil; in the second we place those women whose usual attitude to cohabitation is a neutral one; in the third the women in whom this "neutrality" may be described as compliant or obliging participation; in the fourth the really warm, and in the fifth the passionate up to the point of white heat (not including any strictly pathological phenomenon, thus excluding, *e.g.*, erotomania). An approximate idea of the relative frequency of these various unerotic

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happy in his treatment of this difficult subject (*Könsmoral og Livslykke*—"Sexual Morality and Happiness"—Copenhagen, 1908). In particular he lays far too much stress on the physical, "bodily" side of the question; as a matter of fact the psychical, cerebral and nervous side of the process is at least equally important. Only quite recently has this been fully insisted on by Dr. Albert Moll, in his new edition of Dr. Krafft-Ebing's celebrated work, *Psychopathia sexualis*, Stuttgart, 1924.

and erotic temperaments in Woman may be obtained from the following scale:

Frigidissimæ.	Anæsthesia totalis.		Cold women	20 per cent.
Frigidæ	Anæsthesia partialis.	I.	Indifferent	25 ,, ,,
	,, ,,	II.	Compliant	30 ,, ,,
			Warm	15 ,, ,,
			Passionate	10 ,, ,,

From this it appears that, while at the most 10 per cent. of women have a naturally passionate erotic temperament, 20 per cent., a fifth part, are without a trace of erotic feeling, no matter to whom or how often they are married, and 25 per cent. are of so chilly a nature that only men of considerable erotic experience, ability and patience can succeed in arousing their almost extinct amorous instincts to full vitality, and then in many cases only by resorting to more or less artificial incitements, preferably of a psycho-physical nature. The next group is the largest; it includes nearly a third part of all women, and most of these can be led to a complete understanding of erotic cohabitation and its culminations, if only the man bears in mind the relative slowness of even this normal type of woman (in comparison with himself) and is able to adapt himself thereto. In the accompanying diagram we have illustrated the normal relation between the course of the erotic crescendo and its culmination point in the normal Man and the most usual (that is, least abnormal) type of Woman. As we see, she takes on an average twice to four times as long to reach the maximum (the asymptote of the hyperbola to its Y-axis) as the normal man.* Thus

* Adler was the first to attempt a graphic representation of the course of the erotic culmination. We cannot, however,

even a woman of normally warm temperament cannot obtain full satisfaction unless the man is able *artificially* to retard his culmination, so that his hyperbolic culmination either coincides with hers or falls even later. Finally we have a smaller group of 15 per cent. who may be described as erotically susceptible, but at the most 10 per cent. are as susceptible as Man; in other words, every tenth woman at most is on an equal

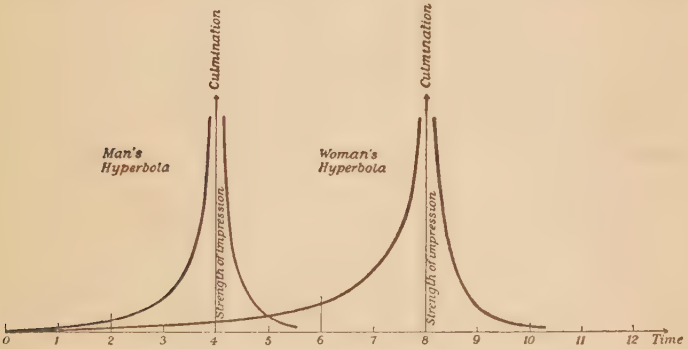

FIG. 3.—Graphic Representation of the Course of Sexual Sensation in Normal European Man and Woman.

footing with the normal man in regard to erotic cohabitation. When once we have thoroughly acknowledged this truth, we shall be able to understand a number of hitherto incomprehensible sexual and social phenomena of hitherto unsuspected significance and bearing.

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accept his diagram, which discloses insufficient mathematical knowledge; the hyperbola, or at any rate a hyperbolic figure, certainly gives a more ideal approximation than Adler's awkward and irregular curves (*op. cit.* pp. 41–47).

Many people will be startled by the statement that a fifth part of all European women are entirely without erotic feeling and a fourth part again practically without sufficient psycho-erotic capacity to keep pace with Man, much less be a match for him in this sphere; but a number of investigators, especially in Germany, including women doctors, have arrived at similar or even more depressing results. Stegerthal regards at least one-half of all German women as "frigid," and at least one-half of these are declared to be "naturæ frigidissimæ." This class corresponds pretty accurately to our Class 1, in which we reckon 20 per cent., but Stegerthal at least 25 per cent., while his estimate of Class 2 coincides with ours. O. Adler expresses feminine lack of erotic feeling or deficient sensibility by the term Anæsthesia totalis et partialis, and estimates these combined classes at 40 per cent., agreeing approximately with us. Margarethe von Kemnitz puts the figure of frigid women as high as 60 per cent., which, however, we regard as too high, either for Germany or Scandinavia.*

The disagreements between the various authors on this subject are due, however, in the main to differences in their definition and classification of the various feminine sexual temperaments. We accept the definition given by Dr. Kurt F. Friedländer in his work *Die Impotenz des Weibes*, published by the "Institut für Sexualwissenschaft in Berlin." † This definition (see

* *Das Weib und seine Bestimmung*, 2nd ed., Munich, 1919, pp. 95–97.

† "Genau so, wie man beim Manne von einer Impotenz im allgemeinen spricht, wenn die Erektion aus irgendwelchen Gründen mangelhaft oder unmöglich ist, ohne sich um die

Note) covers the whole 20 per cent. of my Group 1, besides about 20 per cent. of Group 2, that is, a total of 40 per cent. of all women, who in his and my view must be characterized as erotically impotent. There is this difference between the groups, that the first fifth are incurable and cannot be roused from their erotic lethargy by any man or any remedy, while a part of the next 25 per cent. can be assisted, even if the difficulties are so great that *practically* speaking only a small number of men are able to overcome them. Thus more than a fifth part of these 25 per cent. can scarcely be made to surmount the dead point; the remainder therefore are to be counted, in practice, among the entirely insensible, even though it be *theoretically* correct that most of them could be carried

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qualitative Beschaffenheit des Ejakulates zu kümmern, so will auch ich in den folgenden Zeilen in der Hauptsache das Wort Impotenz im Sinne eines fehlenden oder verminderten und abgeschwächten Geschlechtstriebes gebrauchen, oder in den Fällen, wo starke psychische Gegenvorstellungen den Congressus der Frau gleichgültig, unerwünscht oder sogar widerwärtig erscheinen lassen. Ich muss von einer Impotenz sprechen, wenn die Frau passiv im wahren Sinne des Wortes die Annäherung des Partners an sich herantreten lässt. Ist für den potenten Mann zur Ausübung des Coitus rein physisch eine ausreichende Erektion nötig, so muss ich für die potente Frau eine psychische Aktivität postulieren, beruhend auf einer gut entwickelten Libido und ungestört von Hemmungsvorstellungen. Das Wort Frigidität und seine Verdeutschung Kälte, Gefühlskälte möchte ich ganz fallen lassen, es ist zu unbestimmt und nichtssagend. Schon eher nehme ich den Begriff der anästhetischen Frau auf, wenn von vornherein darüber Klarheit herrscht, dass damit nur eine Frau gemeint ist, deren Geschlechtstrieb herabgemindert oder gehemmt ist oder bei der die Mechanik des Centrum genito-spinale gestört ist.

"Ich spreche also, um zu wiederholen, von einer Impotenz der Frau, wenn es sich um Zustände handelt, die als Ursache einer Impotenz des Mannes analog zu setzen sind." (*Op. cit.*, p. xii.)

along by the extremely few men who possess abnormal psycho-erotic powers, knowledge and interest in a "patient" of this sort. It only leads to confusion if we insist, as some authors do, that no woman can be declared erotically impotent unless she has made life-long attempts with a number of different men without ever having had any sensation. In that case we should have to regard "only" 20 per cent. of European women as absolutely impotent, but in reckoning a total of practically 40 per cent. (Group 1 plus four-fifths of Group 2), even if all these are not absolutely impotent, we shall be justified, because most men, of course, have other things to do than devoting years of their lives to initiating erotically anæsthetic women into the inner mysteries of love, to which the latter therefore remain blind.

It is nevertheless a surprising phenomenon that between one-fifth and two-fifths of all women should regard things specifically erotic with dislike or indifference, while a third part again have difficulty in learning what to almost all men and the remainder of women is one of the most intense joys of life; and we may well ask whether such anomalies have always existed in our race, or, if not, how they have been developed. One would think that this question, justified and interesting as it is, was impossible to answer for want of material and opportunity for investigation. And yet it is possible at least to make considerable contributions towards its elucidation.

In the first place, it appears to be conceded that feminine anæsthesia or, if preferred, impotence, is a phenomenon of degeneration, since by the testimony

of all authors it occurs more frequently in great towns than in small, in town than in country, and is oftener to be found among leisured middle-class women than among hard-working peasant girls and workmen's daughters. On the other hand, it is almost as frequent in Central as in Northern Europe, and it may be asserted with some confidence that sexual anæsthesia among women was about as common in the civilizations of antiquity as in our own. Ovid's celebrated and to some extent notorious *Ars amandi* contains a number of passages * which prove that more or less unnatural incitements and stimulants were necessary for the satisfaction of the women of ancient Rome.†

Outside Europe, on the other hand (including, of course, North America, whose population is derived from here), a more equal balance or indeed perfect reciprocity in the eroto-psychophysical relations of the sexes seems to prevail. Fehlinger, in his monograph *Das Geschlechtsleben der Naturvölker*,‡ gives information indicating that among most primitive peoples the erotic interests of the two sexes are absolutely reciprocal in

* *E.g.*, Bk. II, lines 681, 725, and Bk. III, line 795.

† It may be objected that Ovid's experience was doubtless derived from Roman courtesans rather than from honest matrons. If this is to weigh against our view, we shall have to assume that the purely erotic powers were more blunted in the courtesan than in the honest woman. Most people will probably assume the contrary, but this too is wrong. The courtesan, the hetæra of antiquity, was no more prone than the modern prostitute to choose her calling from special erotic interest or passion, but was more likely to adopt it from love of ease, vanity, desire of pleasing, and only exceptionally from necessity. On this point see in particular Dr. Kurt Schneider's exhaustive *Studien über Persönlichkeit und Schicksal eingeschriebener Prostituirter*, Berlin, 1921.

‡ *Monographien zur Frauenkunde und Eugenetik, Sexualbiologie und Vererbungslehre*, ed. Dr. Max Hirsch, No. 1, Leipzig, 1921.

every respect, but direct statements and observations regarding this problem are not to be found even in his work. We must therefore have recourse to the experiences of white men who have spent some time among other races, as officers in the Congo State, as plantation managers in East Africa or Malacca, and as sailors in Oceania. The majority of such men have ample opportunity of getting to know the native women, though it would be a great mistake to suppose that primitive races are more shameless in any respect than civilized peoples. It is another matter that among them so-called " sensuality " is not counted a sin, any more than hunger or thirst; * but their sexual life, especially in the case of the women, is far from being as licentious as is believed in Europe. Did space permit, it would be well worth a digression to give instances of the touching and self-sacrificing devotion of most coloured women to their white men, even when it is taken for granted that the connection can only be a temporary one. But we will keep to our subject proper, the erotic intensity of primitive woman, and here most observers agree that in this she far surpasses her European sisters. Of true impotence, as defined above, there is practically no question at all, and hardly of decreased erotic æsthesia in comparison with Man. She culminates almost as quickly and easily as he—in fact there is something automatic, so to speak, in the whole operation: it is often as though in the

* Lest this comparison should offend European pride, it may be recalled that " Eros " originally means appetite, and that the Homeric heroes sometimes asseverate the strength and sincerity of their love by comparing it with hunger for a hecatomb of bulls.

course of a few seconds the man's psychical passion infected her and carried her along, though a few moments before she was quite indifferent.* *Honi soit qui mal y pense:* he who knows how terrible and degrading it can be, especially to a nobler masculine nature, to be reduced to mating with one of the numerous sexually anæsthetic white women, will understand the European returned from the tropics, who replies to the expert's enquiries that he prefers the Malayan, Polynesian or Japanese mistress, who screamed with joy if he only laid his hand on her, to the icy white woman, who regarded his erotic transports with contempt and did not even shrink from showing him that she only just bore with him because it was supposed to be part of her wifely duties. And to make things worse, she wronged her husband in this way with a feeling that precisely by so doing she showed herself a "higher being" than he, though, of course, the truth is that she is a defective individual, a poor invalid, a presumptuous ignoramus in matters of love, in accordance with the ancient adage that there is no arrogance like that of ignorance.†

* The process appears to take the same course in the pairing of most of the higher animals. The whole thing takes place, according to human standards, so violently and rapidly that it is difficult to imagine any pleasure in it, though it is easy to show that pleasure is present. Many breeders think that the female is only impregnated if she culminates simultaneously with the male in the moment of covering. Among human beings, as is well known, Woman's sexual feeling has little or nothing to do with fecundation; of which more is said below.

† What it may lead to even in well-intentioned and ostensibly expert women may be seen from Dr. Marie Stopes' sexual guide, *Married Love*, which has a great vogue among women, at any rate in Scandinavia. She recommends general caution on the part of the husband in approaching his wife: he must positively

For it must not be thought that the passionate woman is more sensual than the passionless. On the contrary, all observers agree that the more easily induced is the erotic culmination in a woman and the more complete her satisfaction, the less is she occupied with sexual matters, the freer and stronger she is in all her other functions. The most difficult are the frigid ones of types I and II, the half-cold ones, who do feel desire, but have difficulty in getting it satisfied. As a rule they suspect that there is something lacking in them, and they are often on the hunt to find the exceptional man who can supply it; and they are almost always sexually occupied in one way or another. With this agrees the fact that the women of races like the Malays, Japanese and others, who react easily and quickly, produce a far less sensual impression than the erotically lethargic, but, when once aroused, all-the-more-violent European woman.

And now the next question forces itself upon us, namely how the white woman has come to be so imperfectly endowed with erotic capacity that almost half her number are impotent, anæsthetic or inert in this respect, and of the rest only a tenth part at the most are on an equality with the natural white man.

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carry an almanack in his pocket to pick out the periods when she may be supposed to be most erotically inclined; he must pay attention to every sign she may show in this direction, and then elaborately prepare and stimulate her goodwill before taking any decisive action. The only thing wanting to complete the fatuousness of these ideas is a proposal that, in order to make sure he is not intruding, he should send her a written application each time, on a stamped form approved by the Married Women's Trade Union. And, alas! Dr. Stopes is not the worst of this class of Feminists.

A part of the explanation is undoubtedly that she originally possessed as full an endowment as her coloured sisters, but has lost it, perhaps because in our civilized life it is not absolutely necessary for the maintenance of the species, since in monogamy procreation is just as sure, whether its eroto-psychophysical point of departure has as strong an interest for the woman as for the man or not. In a state of nature, and especially in the animal world, where the female is bound by no "duty" to permanent cohabitation, great fertility may best be assured by the existence, at all events at certain periods, of the same full erotic preoccupation on both sides. We would ourselves point out, however, that this explanation does not entirely cover the case, inasmuch as most primitive peoples do, in fact, possess a fairly regular family life, with the obligation of fidelity, at any rate for the married woman; and to this must be added the fact that the husband or male, as the stronger party, is and always has been in a position to enforce the union or mating, irrespective of what the female thinks or feels. So far, then, Nature might be said to have done enough to attain *her* only object in erotics—the maintenance and increase of the species—if she had allotted all erotic interest and transport exclusively to the male and left the female entirely unaffected by and indifferent to the act of union. Now we know, both from the animal kingdom and from primitive human beings, that, as a matter of fact, Nature has not confined herself to so one-sided an allocation, but has made the interest absolutely reciprocal and homogeneous; and we must therefore regard this as one of Nature's many

" pleonasms "—it is as though Nature, here as everywhere else, can never do enough to secure what at any rate appears to be her object, and *this* psycho-erotic pleonasm has unquestionably contributed in a powerful degree to the forcing of human expansion and family cohesion during the age-long conflict of primitive times for self-preservation and assertion in the face of many powerful enemies and dangers by land and by water. Where these enemies are entirely exterminated or rendered powerless, and where regular and plentiful reproduction, accompanied by the protection of children in an orderly family life, is assured by indissoluble or practically indissoluble monogamy, as in Europe, there is—perhaps—a relaxation of the biological necessity for the maintenance of a strong erotic temperament in Woman, and this becomes " atrophied " like any other " organ " which is no longer used to the same extent as formerly.* Thus in course of time the erotic temperament on a level with Man's is only found in a constantly decreasing number of women in the white man's civilized society, and among the rest it is more or less enfeebled and can only be resuscitated by years of attention and interest on the part of these women's husbands, and not always even then. For the difficulties here to be surmounted are of a multifarious nature, seeing that the apparently quite simple act of copulation is a far more complicated process in an eroto-psychophysical respect than any ordinary mortal suspects. In order that everything shall take its normal course, it demands a close co-operation between four great main groups of nerve-centres with their psycho-physical concomi-

* Such at any rate must be the argument of every Darwinist.

tants, and all this releasing apparatus must not only be in perfect order, but must also act in due succession. On this point we must refer the reader to Dr. Friedländer's already quoted work, *Die Impotenz des Weibes*, which is based on a bibliography of no less than 284 items, so it will be seen that it is not a very simple matter to unravel the mysteries of feminine erotic deficiency. For a provisional understanding of the matter it will suffice here to mention the four main categories of psycho-physical activity which must be intact and in full functioning order, in themselves and in all their connecting-links with mind and body, in order to produce a perfectly satisfactory result from the union of Man and Woman.

1. The *brain*, which undoubtedly must be capable in its entirety of great activity in special directions in order to produce a strong voluptuous feeling, which is acknowledged to be just as much a mental sensation as any other process of consciousness, and is usually stronger in proportion as the brain is highly developed. With this agrees the well-known experience that the feeling of voluptuousness, even when it is easily aroused, is far weaker in younger women than in the fully mature. The whole French literature of *la femme de trente ans* is based on this simple fact, though the French romanticists were unaware of this when, at the beginning of last century, they initiated this vogue—for that matter perfectly justified—of singing the praises of the woman of thirty.*

* The importance to erotic intensity of the development of the brain is again supported by the evidence of history, that the most remarkable men have generally proved to be great eroticians. Only one must beware of turning the sentence the other way about!

2. The *spinal cord*, especially in the lumbar region, from which the releasing of the culmination is regulated.

3. The inner *secretion* of certain sexual glands, which determines the strength of the actual impulse (libido).*

4. Finally, of course, the sexual organs themselves.

It follows already from this that even purely psychical restrictions on the part of the woman are sufficient to check or counteract the occurrence of a state of erotic transport parallel to that of the man. Many people know that apparently slight disturbances, feelings of anxiety or insecurity, are enough to delay or prevent a full erotic result even in usually warm and healthy women of sound nerves. It is therefore only to be expected that a mental atmosphere like that of present-day Feminism, which in a number of women actually precludes the psychical submission, abandonment and self-effacement under the man's will—*one* of the most important requirements for the woman's attaining maximum erotic gratification with all that follows therefrom—should of itself be calculated to increase the already large number of white women who are erotically impotent from other causes of a more physical nature, which we will not go into here.

But at the same time all the centripetal and centrifugal nerve conductors of the impressions and percep-

* See Friedländer, *op. cit.*, pp. 67, 2 and 61. It appears to result from the most recent investigations that the "interstitial" tissue of the ovary, perhaps also the corpus luteus in Woman, is of importance to the development of her libido, and hence of her sexual intensity. Even quite small defects, difficult to trace, in these tissues may thus involve erotic indifference in women otherwise faultless, thereby causing great disturbance of matrimonial harmony, with all the social and moral consequences thereof.

tions which determine erotic impulse must be in healthy working order; so that ordinary neurasthenia, for example, or a certain degree of hysteria,* is enough to preclude any powerful erotic enjoyment, even though the central and local organs concerned be in perfect order and full activity.

Let us now imagine by way of experiment that 10 per cent. of present-day European women have become erotically anæsthetic on account of certain defects of cerebral activity, imaginative and sensitive faculties; 10 per cent. more on account of psychical restraints imposed or intensified by Feminism; 10 per cent. as the result of nervous disorders of various kinds (neurasthenic and hysterical), and 10 per cent. on account either of defective inner secretion of the sexual glands or of more local (genital) debility.† Thus we have already arrived at the 40 per cent. which practically all authors are agreed upon as the proportion of erotically impotent women in Central and Northern Europe. This, of course, is only a symbol: nobody knows *how* and in what numerical proportions feminine anæsthesia in Europe is distributed as regards its origin and causes; but the multifarious ways by which this

* Hysteria is here used in its pathological sense, which includes certain conditions of nervous debility, which may manifest themselves, *e.g.*, either as physical insensibility or as excessive psychical affectibility, leading sometimes to fits of rage over nothing. It is the frequency of this form among women that has caused female hysterics to be synonymous with affectation, whereas in reality it is a somewhat serious disorder or in any case infirmity of the nervous system.

† For further particulars see Wiedersheim, *op. cit.*, p. 254, according to whom the clitoris in Woman is "manifestly in process of decline," whereas this organ in the anthropoid apes, for instance, is far better developed.

impotence may insinuate itself in the female sex explain its wide dissemination, at any rate at the present day, especially among women with very sedentary work or other unnatural occupation, as well as among women of leisure or strongly influenced by degenerating tendencies of town life, such as the nerve-stimulating incitements, without real satisfaction, of dancing and flirtation, theatre mania, and—last, not least—hyper-feministic delusions, which, as we know, find plentiful nourishment in the literature and journalism of the present day.

Feminine impotence is in reality so widespread in contemporary Europe that we find men, even in circles of considerable culture and with a scientific interest in Woman's psycho-erotic nature, who deny point-blank that Woman's erotic temperament is or can be conformable to Man's: they take, as a rule, the view that it is Woman's *normal* nature even in coition to be absolutely passive and to derive a different and far more tranquil pleasure from sexual connection than Man. One is generally well advised to listen to such views in silence and refrain from explicit or emphatic objections. For, as they indicate that the men in question either have had the peculiarly bad fortune only to meet with women of our categories 1 and 2, or themselves possess insufficient capability and knowledge to eroticize the normal category 3, these men usually become irritated if one explains their error to them, the more so as men of this class are—naturally—eminently liable to the infection of Feminism.*

* In sharp contrast to these men we find others, who no doubt are aware that Woman in many, perhaps most cases can be

Now that we have thus gone through the whole of the premises of this difficult problem, someone, most likely a Feminist, male or female, will perhaps object: Well, but is this psycho-erotic deficiency really worth making so much fuss about, and what has it to do with present-day Feminism? So now we have come to it at last—for it is not possible thus to dismiss the lurking social-biological danger that this sexual anæsthesia, so prevalent among civilized women, will intensify the misunderstanding between the sexes and contribute to make them even greater strangers to each other than Nature has already made them. Thus

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eroticized up to the same temperature as Man's, but who knowingly exclude everything which might serve to this end in their relations with their wives, and reserve their erotic maxima for their mistresses. This, of course, is a private matter, but we will not conceal the fact that such a proceeding towards a wife of one of the normal classes 3 and 4, who has erotic possibilities of which she is thus cheated by her husband, is both inexpedient and at the same time dangerous. It is *dangerous* inasmuch as a woman of these categories, at any rate after a few years of married life, is apt to suspect or discover that life has defrauded her grievously, and if this is her husband's fault he runs the risk of her being unfaithful to him with the first erotician she comes across. And at the same time it is *inexpedient* inasmuch as a woman of medium warmth, especially one of the difficult categories 2 and 3, who has to be "thawed," so to speak, often by several years of affectionate and skilful treatment, leading her gradually to realize that she owes her whole initiation into the mysteries of love to her husband—such a woman usually ends by conceiving a devoted and in every way tolerant attachment for her husband, quite different from the feeling of one who on account of his "cheating" never gets beyond a compliant participation in conjugal cohabitation. The "cheater's" usual motive is a fear that his wife may come to know too much about erotics and thus be troublesome to him, both when he is at home and—in his absence. But as a rule this reservation in love brings its own punishment more surely than sincerity. Cf. Dr. Margarethe von Kemnitz, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

this (relative or absolute) feminine erotic insensibility actually reinforces the threats to our civilization, which in a higher degree than in any former culture is based on the assumption of mutual understanding and co-operation between the sexes.

Another point is that no one who has not experienced all that life has to offer in the way of erotics and domesticity is entitled to a voice in such matters, much less to share in making laws or precepts for their regulation; and it is particularly ominous that women, to whom the central mysteries of love, sex and family life will always remain a closed book on account of inborn deficiencies or celibacy, should be set in judgment over everyone else, whose inmost motives and most decisive actions they will never be able to understand. Can there be any sense in the 600,000 women who in Denmark alone must be assumed to remain erotically impotent, whether they are married or not, being allowed a voice in any decision as to what is right or wrong in the sphere of sex and the family, what is necessary or unnecessary, what is healthy or unhealthy, beautiful or ugly, moral or immoral? No, for on these matters, of course, only the healthy married man or woman of full powers is capable of judging. Now it is practically just as easy to decide which men are potent as it is impossible to separate all the women who are impotent, and there is therefore no other way of removing these 600,000 anæsthetic women from their injudicious and uncomprehending influence on family and sexual life than by excluding *all* women from legislation thereon; that is, submitting every law relating to sexual and family life to a referendum of

the men. *If not*, then the *decision* will not, after all, be in the hands of society as a whole—there would be some sense in that—*but will depend pre-eminently on the hyper-feministic, anæsthetic minority among the women.* For it would not be unreasonable to assume that hyper-feminism has its most numerous, most ardent and most fanatical adherents among the erotically anæsthetic, neurasthenic women. Many of its monstrous assertions and proposals are simply only to be explained by an inborn and incurable blindness to all erotic phenomena. Particularly striking is the hatred of Man and the constant insistence on his insatiable sensuality, his bestial coarseness and everlasting brutality towards that ethereal being, exalted above all animalism, Woman. The many wives who are natural, warm and fervently in love with their husbands know that their Feminist sisters lie and slander Man; they know that, thanks precisely to *him*, Woman is in no whit his inferior in love's raptures, no matter of what kind, and that, when all natural factors are as they should be, Woman in fact entirely shares with Man what only those women who are frigid or barren of feeling scorn and vilify as sensuality, lust, brutality, and so on. But naturally these women who know say nothing; they cannot defend Man without exposing their most intimate life to all the world, which no one asks them to do. But the result is that it is the unfeeling and impotent women who dominate the whole discussion, with their folly, their reproaches and abuse of Man, who naturally is also unwilling to make an exhibition of himself for the sake of putting them in their right place—among the erotically blind, who have just as

little to do with any question affecting Man and Woman as, let us say, a committee of blind men with the selection and hanging of an exhibition of pictures.

The fact is that an understanding of the relations between Man and Woman is by no means entirely innate in any man or woman, but while Man's nature and life quickly provide most men with the facts necessary for forming a judgment thereon, it is another matter with Woman, who seldom gets *quite* to the bottom of these things, and understands *nothing at all* either of Man's or Woman's nature if she belongs to the great categories of the impotent or anæsthetic. This is not so surprising if we reflect that even so specifically feminine a feeling as maternal love and an understanding of motherhood is not innate in the sense that it exerts its full strength independently of experience. No doubt it shows itself in embryonic form in the patient way in which most young girls play with dolls and with children, but it does not begin to exert any strength until about the middle of their first pregnancy. And even then it is not so rooted in their nature but that the opportunity and capacity of themselves nursing the child are required to bring it to full development. Most rescue homes for young women can tell us how the majority of these women, when they enter the home, have only one thought: to get rid of the child as quickly as possible, either to be free of the shame, or just as often to regain their erotic liberty. But if they can only be got to take the newborn baby to their breast and nurse it for a few weeks, the idea of leaving the child in the lurch gradually

fades away in many cases (unfortunately by no means in all); and even if they have to resign it into other hands, they seldom lose interest in it to the same extent as mothers are apt to do in the case of children they have not nursed and do not see very often. In other words, the much-vaunted maternal love is a somewhat fragile thing and is in any case best secured by animal means; the nursing of the child at its mother's breast is therefore not only most expedient for the health and life of the child, but brings out in the mother a number of sensations of pleasure and feelings of love which she otherwise does not experience, and the development of which is necessary to give her an understanding of what it means to be a *mother*. It is therefore obvious that Woman in a still greater degree needs experience of what it means to be not only the wife of her husband, but also his mistress. The hundreds of thousands of women who lack the fundamental qualifications for understanding this must silently and humbly stand aside, instead of disturbing, by their equally incompetent and presumptuous interference, the existence of those men and women who do know it and quietly thank God for their knowledge.

CHAPTER IV

OUTLINES OF THE EVOLUTION OF MARRIAGE

1. *The Primitive Family.*

A COMPLETE understanding of the distinguishing characteristics of the two sexes and the relation between them is only to be obtained by a study of the history of marriage in all ages and among all peoples. A vast and comprehensive literature exists on this subject, but it is so scattered and to some extent contradictory that it is impossible for any unaided reader to sift the problems thoroughly, as no general summary of the conclusions of recent research is yet available. We shall attempt in this chapter the by no means easy task of giving the reader in a few pages all the essential data for an understanding of marriage as it exists today, and in particular of Woman's position therein. We must therefore confine ourselves in the main to European, and especially, of course, Gotho-Germanic, races; that is, ourselves, the white Man and the white Woman. A few general remarks on the essential features of primitive human family life must, however, necessarily be premised.

It has long been generally assumed, especially among Darwinists, that no regular form of family life existed in primitive times, and in particular that cohabitation between the sexes only lasted for the actual mating

season, exactly as in the case of most animals, and that quite free and vague sexual relations, known as promiscuity, prevailed even among human groups united by kinship and living in communities. Complete and permanent sexual promiscuity is, however, scarcely to be found among any primitive people, and it is easy to see that this promiscuity need not, at any rate, have been a *general* rule for all primitive peoples even in the most remote times, since it must often have been rendered impossible by the indisputable fact that the strongest and most capable male, even in the animal or semi-animal stage, seldom brooks the rivalry of other males. We have always been sceptical of the theory of the descent of the " higher " creatures from the lower, of men from the apes, though it may be right, even if it has never yet been proved. But there can be no reasonable doubt that all living creatures are subject to the same natural laws of biology; and therefore a study of Nature as a whole may always be useful to the elucidation of Man's position therein, and many analogies from the animal world may be justified even for those who—like ourselves—assume that the formation of all new species and forms is due, not, as Darwin believed, to continuous evolution, but to mutation—variation by leaps, as Hugo de Vries in particular has pointed out, even though, at present in any case, the origin of these mutations is just as mysterious as the intervention of a Deity.

The great German naturalist Brehm has already shown how many species of apes have a certain family life, arranged in *hordes* under the leadership of the strongest male; not, be it noted, the oldest, still less

one of the younger. The leader as a rule is middle-aged, so that strength and experience combined give him the advantage over the old, who may surpass him in experience, but are inferior in strength and endurance, and over the younger, who may often be superior to him in endurance, but more rarely in strength and violence, and never in experience and caution. Of special interest to our subject is the passion with which he protects his females against the approaches both of the growing and of the ageing males. No husband of the present day could surpass him in suspicion, foresight and severity when it is a question of keeping rivals at a distance. Every lapse brings such fierce punishment on both female and rival, in the shape of bites and blows, that even among these inferior creatures psychical reactions and "inhibitions" arise forbidding free intercourse between the sexes: the females dare not lead the subject males into temptation, and the latter dare not approach the females, from fear on both sides of the elder male. Thus arises the *first* basis of family life and the relations between the sexes, often leading to the association of several females with their children and kin under the leadership of the elder male; and though from our exalted human standpoint we may look down with scorn upon this state of things, it nevertheless marks the first advance from free and promiscuous sexual intercourse, and in this sense we see that the sexual jealousy of the male is one of the first and most original motive powers in the development of what we call the family and marriage, and perhaps also in the specialization of the male's superior fighting efficiency, strength and courage,

which in the higher stages become cultural factors of importance.

This line of development gradually leads, as may easily be understood, to polygyny; that is, a family life based upon one husband and several wives, as is found not only among gorillas, but also in numerous races in Polynesia and Africa, as well as in various Mohammedan peoples. We must not imagine, however, that this development is invariable or unbroken. By the side of it we find still more frequently, and in almost all parts of the world at one stage or another of cultural evolution, another form of the family, which may be designated by the term *Group Marriage:* a certain number of men possess in common a certain number of women, and to this extent promiscuity prevails within this family group; from which again it results that no one can tell who are the fathers of the children. This form of the family often involves the children having the same appellation for all the grown men of the family, and their deriving names and kinship exclusively from the mother. This primitive form of family life exists very widely to this day in New Guinea,* and is also found in India and elsewhere, and it appears to have been common in a great part of Europe not only in prehistoric times, but even to a comparatively recent period, at any rate among the *Celts*, for which reason we must examine it a little more closely.

Thus Cæsar tells us in his famous books on the Gallic

* See, for instance, Dr. Thurnwald's researches, which are based on a stay of many years among these tribes: *Die Gemeinde der Banaro. Ehe, Verwandtschafts- und Gesellschaftsbau eines Stammes im Innern von Neu Guinea.* Stuttgart, 1921.

War that the Celtic men in Britain lived in groups of eight, ten or twelve, usually male kinsmen, with a similar number of women, but that the children were held to belong to the man who had first entered into matrimonial union with the woman concerned. We have a reminiscence of this state of things in a custom which survived in Scotland as late as the eighteenth century. When a woman had given birth to a child, it was not given the father's name until to his direct question: "Who is the child's father?" she had plainly replied: "You are." *

Dion Cassius and Hieronymus have something similar to say about the Caledonians (the present Highlanders) and the Scots respectively. This family relationship—which thus exists to this day among the Malays and other peoples and is maintained with a regularity, a ceremonial and a system of kinship even stricter than that of the Catholic Church—we shall designate in the following pages, with Sven Lönborg, by the word *clan* (Gaelic *clann*, Welsh *plant*), which means seed, children, progeny in general.†

We here pass over the long conflict as to whether the clan-family, which undeniably is promiscuity, though limited by the comparatively small numbers of the

* This custom points back to matriarchy as the older form of clan kinship, which was originally reckoned by the mother. The change to the male line is said not to have taken place until the eleventh century, under King Malcolm MacKenneth, but even after that time the son traced descent by the mother's side, if the father—perhaps for good reasons—refused to acknowledge him. Whence again this custom of asking the question.

† All members of the clan derive from an ancestor, *e.g.*, Donald, and they are all his sons (Mac): MacDonald, MacAulay, MacLean, etc.

group, is a stage of development from a sexual promiscuity previously general. For one thing, the conflict appears to us objectless, inasmuch as we may be sure that, for economic reasons alone, the primitive human community can *never* have formed congregated groups, mutually connected, of more than eight, ten or twelve families; that is, at the most a hundred individuals, in the same clan. Promiscuity among eight—ten—twelve men and women *may* therefore practically be called general promiscuity—which, with due respect, appears to have escaped the notice of the learned disputants—even if the promiscuity "stays in the family," if I may say so. For another thing, the development of the early European clan-family into the single family and monogamy is the only thing which concerns *our* task—a clear historical elucidation of the characteristics of *modern* marriage. The bridge to the single family may be thrown from many points, especially from a peculiarity already connected with the clan-family, namely the fairly common prohibition of marriage within the *same* clan-family; that is, of in-marrying (indogamy)—a new woman must regularly be brought from another clan (exogamy).*

At this point of the enquiry sociologists have dwelt rather too long on the speculation, restricted by modern habits of thought, as to why indogamy is forbidden already among most primitive peoples. They have attributed to these savages, now a knowledge of the injuriousness of consanguineous marriage, though

* There are not a few exceptions to this rule, but we cannot occupy ourselves with them here, since clan marriage without exogamy does not afford the potential developments which are of interest to our civilization.

this has never been proved by modern science, now a certain sense of family shame, which is present in some races, but not in others. It has even been attempted to found on this clan basis, where sometimes—though not even commonly—the mother is the *family* centre, a theory of matriarchy, mother-right and feminine domination, which was then taken to be a usual transitional phase leading to the supposedly later development of the patriarchy and father-right.* The unfortunate thing is that the study of the history of marriage was originally in the hands of philosophers and sociologists, who certainly deserve all praise as pioneers in this province, but who nevertheless have often done more harm than good, because they nearly all lacked any thorough anthropological qualifications, as well as a sufficient knowledge of economics; for instance, the history of economic development and the problem of population, without which one is bound to go astray in the history of marriage, which, as we shall see later, is closely bound up with the prevailing economic and technical culture and can only be understood in connection therewith, a thing which has usually been overlooked hitherto.

To the Swedish sociologist Sven Lönborg is due the credit of having been one of the first to see this connection, and in what immediately follows we avail ourselves in the main of his statement of the case. His point of departure, like ours, is the fact that the clan is not merely the primitive family, or rather, perhaps, a

* This theory of Bachofen's, which had its origin in a remark of Herodotus about certain forms of marriage among the Lydians, has given rise to much confusion in the interpretation of the history of marriage.

very common form of primitive family life, but at the same time the *primitive economic unit*.

Originally the clan is, economically speaking, self-contained: its members own all industrial factors, among which the women are the most important, in common, and produce everything required for the support of the members of the family by well-organized labour under the leadership and direction of the *clan chieftain* (the efficient and experienced older man). At this earliest stage of marriage, as far as we know it, the women composed the most important and best part of the men's property, because they performed the tedious and troublesome, and in particular the *monotonous* part of the work, which appeared to be below the level of Man's intelligence and dignity, but which still had to be done. At later stages of culture this work is taken over, first by slaves with implements, afterwards by machines with animal, and finally mechanical driving power.* Therefore the Man, the clan chieftain, who in this connection is the *economic director of antiquity*, is very reluctant to allow any of his women to leave the clan. If a man wants to have one of his clanswomen, there are three main ways of setting about it:

1. He must take up his abode with the clan, with the chief's permission, and thus become a member of it. We find examples of this here and there in the history of most clans. The motives are easy to discover and to understand: a desire to strengthen the clan,

* We shall see in the conclusion how precisely this final economic–technical development again forces Woman into the slavery of labour, whereby in her case the course of evolution threatens to return to its lowest original stage.

especially when it has been weakened by disease or fighting; a desire to form leagues with other clans; or the chief's permission may be obtained by actual gifts on the part of the new man. This form (clan-membership by purchase through a woman) is, however, only conceivable at a stage when sheer community of property has given way, at any rate in part, to individual proprietorship, and it assumes a somewhat richer economic culture, inasmuch as the man who offers to buy a bride must have had not only the right, but the economic opportunity for acquiring a certain personal fortune. In the nature of things a pastoral culture offers better possibilities and more varied opportunities for the development of personal property than either a hunting or a fishing culture; but human life, even from the dawn of time, has been too manifold, both economically and culturally, for it to be possible or desirable to formulate definite laws of development of universal application. Nor, indeed, is there any necessity to do so; what we now know is sufficient to explain all the essentials of marriage as an institution both in ancient and modern times. In any case, the chief's authority over the clanswomen and their remaining in the clan is the foundation of matriarchy, under which system, however, women in general had just as few rights as under patriarchy. Where the woman under matriarchy has the right of inheritance, the man practically always retains the full right of possession and disposition; even in matriarchy *she* is usually only the *medium* through which the whole substance of the right of inheritance passes to the man. It is Bachofen's fatal error not to have understood this.

2. The second means of getting oneself a wife outside one's own clan consisted in carrying off a woman from an alien clan. Originally women were carried off preferably from enemies, or, until comparatively late times, the enemies were killed and the victors married their women; frequently women were carried off even from friendly tribes, who forgave the rape, either on account of the fabulous bravery and heroism shown in its accomplishment, or with the idea of retaliating. This marriage by capture is so well known, and memories of it have been transmitted in so many of our marriage customs, that we need not dwell on it. We will only mention that in Old Gothic *quen lingan*, to *veil* the woman, means the same as marrying her. For among our ancestors in Northern Europe, as well as among the Slavs of Eastern Europe, a captured woman was wrapped up, especially about the face, lest she should find the way home again. Our bridal veil is the rudiment of this custom, originally purely practical, a fact which shows how deeply our time is rooted in a distant past, when marriage and the family were established in a different way.

But even in that remote past we find a number of indications that in Europe the captured woman was well treated and respected by her husband (the legend of the Sabine women pleading for their new Roman husbands is a symbol of this), whereas marriage by capture in South America and Australia is often accompanied to this day by scenes so hideous that they can neither be conceived nor described by a white man. From this we may learn one of our first principles in the history of marriage: things may appear to be the same every-

where, but need not on that account always be the same.

3. The third form of marriage outside the clan organization is the regular purchase of the woman, who is thus set free from her original clan. This purchase may be effected in two ways, the first of which is that the man's clan buys the woman from her clan, in which case, of course, she does not become his private property, but *his clan's* property, and he has to share her, temporarily at any rate, with the rest of the male members of the clan, or with some part of them. Only when the purchase is effected in the second way, *i.e.*, by the man's private means can there be a question of his being allowed to keep her to himself. The subsequent development of marriage is thus closely connected with the economic basis and judicial organization of the primitive family. We cannot here go into the historical origin of the right of private property, beyond pointing out, as already suggested, that a pastoral culture is one of the forms of economic culture which favour the rise of private estate, and especially of personal, movable estate, such as cattle, whence, as we know, the old Latin term for this, *pecunia* (*pecus*, cattle), has come to mean *money* pure and simple.

In a pastoral and nomadic culture so many head of cattle were (and are) given for the woman required, and at such stages of pastoral culture as have arrived at *private herds* for the individual father of a family—in particular among nomadic tribes, where a man can leave the mother clan, taking a share of the herd with him—there is room also for private property in Woman, and thereby again for polygyny. Where monogamy

is found at these stages, it is practically always synonymous with poverty: a man's wealth and consideration are usually measured by the size of his herd and the number of his women. The clan culture has, however, fairly narrow economic bounds: especially in primitive economic conditions, the number of members who can be supported and organized in the same locality is very restricted, though extremely variable. In all parts of the world we have small and poor clans of only ten or fifteen members, and other rich and mighty clans who count their members by the hundred. But the increase and pressure of population split up one clan after another, and younger men of exceptional efficiency migrate with their women to become the founders of new clans. A development such as this may contain germs for the formation of separate families, founded and maintained by single couples who have purchased their freedom from the economic and sexual communism of the earlier clan. But this development, of which again we have memorials in our present betrothal ceremonies,* may indeed explain *polygyny*—*i.e.*, a line of evolution from the matriarchy and promiscuity of the clan to patriarchy with several wives to the same husband—but not the later development to monogamy—one husband with as a rule one wife for life—and at this point Sven Lönborg also reaches a deadlock.

We get a hint for the solution of this riddle by following up our idea of the economic development as a domi-

* The engagement ring is a symbol of the coin, originally metal rings, which the man placed upon the woman's finger as payment for receiving her as his private property from her clan or her father.

nating factor in the history of marriage. In other words, if we can show that our economic culture has rendered polygyny either economically superfluous or, better still, economically impossible, the circle will be so far complete and the whole development explained in its main features. Now it is true that a study of the whole Mohammedan world, which is almost as numerous (400 millions) as the European, and in which, as we know, it is permitted to have as many as four lawful wives, shows that polygyny is nevertheless far rarer than is imagined in Europe. This is due to two very practical reasons. In the first place, in all parts of the world about as many men are born as women, with an excess of about 5 per cent. for the men, which their greater mortality changes into a similar deficit, leaving a small surplus (5 per cent.) on the women's side. If therefore there are no wars to decimate the men, and no custom of female infanticide (very common among primitive peoples, who endeavour in this way to keep down the increase of population, which is obviously determined in every primitive community by the number of the tribe's women), then at most 5 per cent. of the men can have two wives, and at most 1 per cent. the permitted maximum of four. As most Mohammedan communities forbid infanticide and live more peaceably than the Christians, there is an approximate equilibrium between the sexes in numerical strength. To this must be added the second reason, that among the Mohammedans, as in all hitherto known economic communities, the poor are in the majority and the wealthy only number a few per thousand, just as in Europe.

Therefore, in spite of the Prophet's generosity, practically all the peasants of Asia Minor have but one wife apiece, and polygyny is actually the privilege of the well-to-do, the harem is the exception for a few powerful persons of the upper class.

But since a great part of the earth has become thickly inhabited and the population has gradually been organized, first under the feudal system and afterwards in great agrarian and industrial States, affording less economic and geographical free scope to the individual than at any time since the days of a narrow clan organization—so that by far the greater number of men and women have to be satisfied if their daily wants are covered—general polygyny has become impossible in our culture for economic reasons alone. In addition to this, the surplus of women in Europe, even after the Great War, is too small (10 per cent. at most) to render polygyny possible on a large scale; so that it would be just as rare here as in Asia, even if it were not forbidden by law.*

We thus only lack the explanation of how monogamous marriage in Europe has developed out of patriarchy, just as the latter has often developed through matriarchy, this again out of the clan organizations, and these from the primitive horde under the leadership of the old male. The last phase, monog-

* It is another matter that, as many authors assert, *actual* polygyny flourishes clandestinely in Europe to a greater extent than *official* polygyny in Asia, and that (as Müller-Lyer points out, among others) Man's erotic "neophily" (see below) always involves an increase of prostitution in proportion to the strictness with which monogamous marriage is protected by law. We will not here enter into this discussion, which is of no particular importance to our main subject.

amous patriarchy, before we come to the present day, will be best understood by reviewing what we know of the attitude of our own race to marriage and Woman from the moment of its entry into history, first through the Greeks of classical antiquity, and afterwards through the Germanic peoples shortly before the birth of Christ.

2. *Classical Antiquity.*

While the clan organization survived as the economic, political and social–matrimonial basis of Celtic communities until far into the middle ages, we find in the classical civilizations of antiquity a fully developed system of separate families under the father's authority as far back as the earliest historical times. We also know that this organization of separate families on a patriarchal basis had developed out of an earlier tribal organization with group marriage, which existed among these peoples (Indians, Greeks, Romans, etc.) as well as elsewhere. The causes of this transference of the basis of family relations have not yet been fully revealed by research; in particular its connection with economic technical development has not received sufficient attention. The explanation preferred by Müller-Lyer *—that increase of population, competition and war forced the earlier tribes and clans to combine in ever-increasing political units, thus gradually producing the State, and that the importance of a regulated family life to the welfare of the State became more and more apparent to the people of that time—is no doubt right in itself; but as, according to his account, an

* *Die Entwicklungsstufen der Menschheit*, IV Band, Die Familie, p. 176. Munich, 1921.

extremely rigid regularity prevailed in the family life of the clan, the necessity for the dissolution of the clan system in the transition to classical antiquity does not appear from this explanation. What we have to explain is the breaking up of the clan system's *group marriage*, its splitting up into separate families, and the consolidation of these into the principle of lifelong monogamy in the greater part of Europe. Reserving a more detailed elucidation of this somewhat obscure point in the history of the white man's matrimonial development, we shall adopt the obvious view that since primitive times—the age of the horde under the leadership of the strong, capable and experienced man—a strong tendency has been implanted in Man's primitive nature not to share women with others except under compulsion, and that this tendency again finds vent as soon as economic development permits the isolation of a man's women, or in any case of a specially preferred woman. This becomes possible, as suggested in the last section, with the development of private property, especially among cattle-breeders. As we know, the white man's ancestors, Hellenes, Germans, Goths, etc., were and are pre-eminent as cattle-breeders, and thus we have no difficulty in imagining that the separate family was evolved on the basis of purchase, which set the woman free from the clan and group marriage. This evolution undoubtedly showed many long transitional stages; to this day we may see, for instance, in certain parts of Oceania, how a man, who under group marriage has conceived a special interest for a particular woman, will toil for years in order to amass a capital wherewith he may buy her freedom

and establish his own household. This may be repeated in the case of capable and well-to-do men, whereby we arrive at polygyny as it exists in principle (but not always as a fact) in most Asiatic civilizations. The traditions of the Bible supply excellent material for the verification of this line of development: Jacob serving Laban seven years as the price of Rachel and being first put off with Leah; the patriarchs, who take concubines on various occasions and for various reasons, such as barrenness of the wife, which in most early civilizations gives the man the right to send the woman back to her parents and claim compensation, as is the case at the present day among many primitive peoples.

It is true that the principle of monogamy cannot at present be explained without assuming that the European man, in particular the Nordic type described above, has possessed *a more powerful political impulse and ability* than any other race on earth, and at a relatively early stage has grasped the fact that the *separate family* as the unit of society affords the clearest and most durable element for the juridical, economic and political formation of a great and powerful State. But the lifelong monogamy existing even then among white men (especially in Greece and Rome) cannot be *fully* explained without the additional assumption of a tendency towards a far-reaching consideration for Woman's position as a human being and personal interests. In the ancient clan organization she was to a great extent protected against high-handed treatment on the part of the individual man by the very fact of several families living together; we may assume from

Man's dominating nature that the elderly clan chieftain, however tyrannically inclined towards strange women, would seldom permit a younger clansman to treat the daughters of the clan indiscreetly or unjustly. In the separate family, Woman, at least in principle, is entirely subject to the caprice of the single husband; not only because he has bought her and regards her as his lawful property, though—and this is an important factor in estimating her position—the best and in every respect the most valuable, often, indeed, the dearest of his chattels; but also because he was and is so much stronger than she in every respect that she is hopelessly dependent on him alone, until he himself creates either *fixed customs* or a *system of justice* capable of counterbalancing his natural superiority and thus affording her an objective protection.

In the first stage of development of the separate family she has no *objective* protection to speak of. In the earliest days of Greece and Rome of which we have knowledge (before the fifth century B.C.), the head of the family possessed over his wife and children nearly all the rights which later, albeit by slow degrees, passed to the State. *The single family was in itself a State*, where the father of the family was chief, judge and distributor of rewards and punishments in all the important relations of life. He administered chastisement on a refractory wife and on his children, even when they were grown up; in serious cases, such as adultery, he had the right of putting the woman to death; he had the formal right of selling her and the children (which, of course, he only exercised as a punishment, when, for example, they had designs

on his life), and of giving them in marriage. Finally he had rights over the whole family property, including that contributed by his grown-up sons. The father of the family was at the same time the economic director of the period, and under his leadership the classical family developed into a social–economic organization which, with children and slaves, might count its members by hundreds, and in certain ways might function and produce on principles reminding us of modern industry, in spite of the many differences which we cannot go into here.

But to conclude from this that the classical paterfamilias was a terrible tyrant who worried and tormented wife and children, servants and slaves, a chief hated and feared by all, whose power his subordinates were always trying to break, would be an almost childish error. Dr. Nörlund showed a few years ago, in his book on "The Roman Slave Community," that good treatment and good relations were the rule, maltreatment the exception; and our view of the actual state of the case is obscured by the fact that the popular histories of antiquity which we all know have most to say of the exceptions, just as the modern Press makes the most of horrors and gives the scoundrel more publicity than the thousand honest men. Precisely the same is true in antiquity of the position of the master of the house towards his family. We forget that, then as now, we have to deal with *human beings*, who, in spite of all their faults and deficiencies, usually endeavour to behave in human fashion, at least so long as the family itself renders this possible; and that in the higher races, such as ours, the man strong by nature

tends as a matter of course to exert his power and authority with the greater leniency and consideration, the more undisputed and incontestable it is. This is true to this day of the Chinese family, where the patriarchal idea is still as paramount as ever it was in classical Europe, and it is true in a still greater degree of the white man of Nordic type. Nowhere in the world do we find an *idealization* of family life and of Woman's position therein like that of the palmiest days, economically, socially and artistically, of classical antiquity; and as typical of the spirit in which Hellenic culture regarded patriarchal marriage we shall take Xenophon's description of it, in the form of an imaginary dialogue between Socrates and a married man who is given the name of Ischomachos (quoted in Professor Heiberg's work on "The Woman Question in Ancient Athens").

"*Socrates.* Another thing I should like to hear, Ischomachos; whether you yourself trained your wife in the way she should go, or whether she understood her duties when you received her of her father and mother.

"*Ischomachos.* No, what should she understand, Socrates, when I took her? Why, she was scarcely fifteen when she came to me, and until that time she had been strictly brought up, to see as little as possible, hear as little as possible, and ask as few questions as possible. Do you not think I had cause to rejoice if only, when she came to me, she knew how to convert the wool that was given her into clothes and had seen how to set the maids to work at spinning? But beyond this she had been very well brought up to moderation

in eating and drinking, a thing which I consider of great importance both in man and woman.

"*Socrates.* But in all else, Ischomachos, you yourself have educated your wife to be capable of performing her tasks?

"*Ischomachos.* Yes, but not, I assure you, until I had made sacrifice to the Gods and prayed that I might have the good fortune to teach her, and she to learn, what was best for us both.

"*Socrates.* And your wife, did she take part in these sacrifices and prayers?

"*Ischomachos.* She did indeed, and she solemnly vowed in the presence of the Gods that she would be as she ought to be, and it was evident that she would prove an attentive pupil.

"*Socrates.* But in Heaven's name, Ischomachos, what did you begin by teaching her? You positively must tell me that, for it would be a greater delight to hear it than if you were to describe to me the grandest race or boxing-match.

"*Ischomachos.* Oh, I put something like the following questions to her, Socrates, when she had settled down a little and felt at home:

"'Tell me, wife, have you ever considered why I took you and why your parents gave you to me? For I am sure you understand as well as I do that it was not merely for want of a bedfellow. But when I on my own behalf and your parents on yours looked about for the fittest partner to share in worldly goods and in children, I chose you, and your parents preferred me above all other suitors, if I may say so without immodesty. Now if God one day gives us children, we will

deliberate in concert how we may educate them in the best way; since it is to our common advantage to have the best possible helpers and supports for our old age. But in the meantime we hold our property in common. For I declare everything I have to be joint property, and you have also added the whole of your dowry to the common fund. And we shall not make any petty calculation as to which of us has contributed the larger amount, but shall feel convinced that the one who is better partner has made the more valuable contribution.'

"To this my wife replied:

"'Oh, what help can I afford you? What talents have I? No, everything is in your hands; my only vocation was to be orderly and well-behaved, my mother told me.'

"'Quite so, wife,' said I, 'and my father said the same to me. But still it is the task of an orderly man and an orderly woman not only to see that what they possess is in the best possible condition, but to endeavour to add to it as much as they can by honest and honourable means.'

"To this my wife said: 'Can you then discover anything that I can do to aid in the increase of our fortune?'

"'Yes, indeed I can,' I replied; 'what the Gods have given you talent for, and what is recognized by custom, that you shall try to do in the best way.'" . . .

"Ischomachos goes on to explain that marriage in the first place serves to propagate the race and to provide the individual with a support for his old age in his children; but in addition to this the life of men

and women requires the co-operation of two different forces: one directed outward, to gather substance for the household, and one directed inward, to keep in due order what has been acquired and to care for the children. Nature has assigned the first of these tasks specially to Man, on account of his greater mental and physical power and endurance, the second to Woman, with her greater affection for little children and her anxious care and solicitude. As Man and Woman thus complete each other, marriage is a necessary institution, based upon Nature and sanctified by custom. He compares the wife's activities with those of the queen bee, and concludes by drawing the following idyllic picture of the housewife's position in the household: *

"'And the finest thing of all will be that you show yourself more capable than I and make me your servant, and that you need have no fear lest, in growing older, you should lose consideration in the household, but may feel assured that even as you grow older, so you will be the more respected, the more capable you show yourself as my fellow-worker and as guardian of our property and children. For the growth of the beautiful and good does not depend upon youth and beauty, but upon ability to deal with the problems of human life.'"

When we of the present day have laid aside discord and misunderstanding, utopias and caricatures, tears

* J. L. Heiberg, *Kvindespörgsmaalet i det gamle Athen* ("The Woman Question in Ancient Athens"), ed. of 1916, pp. 141–144. The statement that follows, of the care the good husband must take lest his wife's desire of pleasing and love of finery degenerate with advancing age, will be read with pleasurable recognition by every modern man.

and laughter, new fashionable crazes and old prejudices regarding the relations between the sexes, every one of us, if we honestly listen to our own hearts—whether we call ourselves radical or conservative, whether we are young or old, Feminist or virile, woman or man—will joyfully admit that not one of us can desire anything better or attain anything higher in the relations between Man and Woman than the picture here drawn of the classical ideal of marriage. Within its frame an inviolable harmony is brought about, with happiness for both parties, and this is the Alpha and Omega of every marriage.

Now it will be objected that such marriages were rare exceptions, which prove nothing as to the excellence of the system then prevailing. We shall come to that directly, but one point may be established at once: this objection cannot in any case be put forward by modern *Feminists*. For these Feminists have, in fact, succeeded during the last generation in carrying out *their* ideal of marriage—full equality of position and rights in almost all private and social concerns, with the *State* as arbiter, even in the most delicate private relations, whenever dissension arises—even though the *ideality* of these ideals may be disputed. But there can be no dispute about the *reality* of the corresponding results, which are disharmony, a mutual sense of misery and unhappiness, scandals, immorality and divorces in increasing progression. The circumstance that the classical ideal of marriage, with *Man* as the centre of gravity in the family and in the State, was perhaps actually realized but rarely, is therefore no argument which modern *Feminists* are entitled to use

against classical attempts at a stable regulation of the family and the State based upon monogamy under Man's rule.

Here the next question presents itself automatically: Why did not the then prevailing form of marriage correspond to its content: upon what contradictions did it come to grief, and why did it end in a state of dissolution, social and moral, comparable to that which has overtaken the more or less feministically influenced marriage of the present day?

This question will receive its final answer in Chapter VII; here we shall do no more than briefly indicate two main causes, two elements of discord, which tend to the weakening or dissolution of all monogamous relations in every civilization and in every age. They are due respectively to certain fundamental characteristics of the masculine and of the feminine nature, both essentially of a *psychical* kind. The feminine characteristics which threaten (without necessarily destroying in every case) any permanent relation between Man and Woman have already been described in the preceding section: unreasonableness, short-sightedness, changeableness, non-sociability, non-morality, etc. These continually threaten Man's leadership in married life, whether his legal authority over his wife and family be extensive or limited, as soon as he has taken the step of conceding to her, in principle or in practice, the irrevocable, lifelong, privileged position of mistress of his household. The actual influence of the mistress of the house upon the family, and with it upon her husband's welfare, then becomes great enough to enable her to embarrass him

at any time and in many ways, without his having any means of preventing it—apart from forcible discipline, now forbidden—so long as she does not go so far that he is positively obliged to get rid of her; which means as a rule that she can permit herself to go all lengths in annoying him, short of physical acts of infidelity. Above all, in a race like that of the white man, with his early recognition of the political necessity of the subjection of the individual to the State or society, and of the peculiar advantage of rigid, monogamous marriage in the formation of this society on the one hand, and his (at any rate pristine) insight into feminine nature on the other—an insight which does not expect much more from one woman than from another, where *marriage* is concerned—the man will, even in bad cases, patiently suffer his practical dependence on the woman in lifelong monogamy, regarding it as an unavoidable sacrifice to the welfare and progress of his race and his State. That this sacrifice has hitherto not been made entirely in vain seems sufficiently witnessed by the economic and political victory of the Northern European race in all parts of the world. But besides this, for as long as we have any record in history, there has always glimmered in the white man a clearer or fainter, more or less conscious hope that the privileged and well-protected position he has thus *willingly*—for who could have forced him to it?—conceded to his woman, beyond any other race in the world, would either disclose at once (*e.g.*, during his own married life), or at any rate gradually develop, certain factors, if not of *gratitude*, at least of *acknowledgment* in her nature, so that in this

way, with the support of her instincts of affection, she might become his comrade as well as his wife. Thus he has always assumed that Woman by degrees would become capable of realizing in a great measure the ideal which is present to the minds of at any rate the better advocates of the modern Woman's movement: by permanent companionship and co-operation to strengthen and extend as far as possible the *fellowship* in every sense of the sexes.

The *results* in the civilized communities of Europe, both ancient and modern, show, however, that, hitherto at any rate, this has not been possible; the past of mankind has been too long and too hard; man's wanderings on earth in a savage or barbarous state have lasted many hundred times longer than what we call civilization, and when the classical culture of Europe tried to arrange a lifelong relation between two persons of opposite sexes, sex-differentiation had already progressed too far to admit of a durable bridging of the psychical sex-differences, to say nothing of reducing or levelling them. We therefore find the two sexes accusing each other almost as violently in ancient as in modern times, with the sole difference that Man's replies were then more vigorous than now. Aristophanes in his comedy the *Thesmophoriazusæ* makes a woman complain of his no less celebrated contemporary Euripides that he was particularly hard on women. She says, amongst other things:

> "Long has it cut me to the heart to see
> How we're insulted by Euripides.
> He shrinks from nothing, the abusive wretch,
> Fit offspring of a cabbage-hawking crone!
> Whene'er the stage is set and Chorus come

He smears us with his filthy-minded taunts:
' Impudent harlots—double-dealing jades—
Chatterers, steeped in perjury and wine—
Unwholesome creatures, wearing out men's lives—' "

To this her opponent—a man disguised as a woman—replies that, after all, Euripides is not nearly so hard on women as they deserve:

" Why overwhelm the poor man with our wrath
For letting out a paltry two or three
Of woman's faults?—we've thousands of them."

On the other hand, Man's nature also contained at least one element which was difficult to reconcile with monogamy and which gives Woman cause for oft-repeated complaints against him. This is the psychical characteristic to which science gives the name of *erotic neophily*; that is to say, a more or less strong inclination in Man as such to erotic variety, popularly known as his polygamous (more correctly, polygynous) inclinations. In the *horde* these inclinations are gratified simply by the strongest and most capable (by no means always the *best*) man cowing, expelling or killing enough rivals to ensure him a certain reserve of attendant women. We see the same thing in the gorilla family, not to mention deer and barndoor fowls. Within the clan organization erotic variety is assured and regulated by group marriage, which as a rule gives the man a free choice among several women, though it is true he has to share them with others. In single-family organizations on the monogamous principle male neophily is usually provided for by a new institution which occurs but rarely, if ever, at earlier stages of the history of family life, namely prostitution in its many forms, into which we need not go here. It must

suffice to point out that there is nothing fortuitous in the circumstance that prostitution is always the more strongly developed, the more strictly the monogamous and indissoluble character of marriage is upheld. It is one of the tragic paradoxes of civilization that the most moral form of cohabitation seems inseparably bound up with the most immoral of all connections between the sexes.* We must pass over here the by no means unimportant problem of the development of male neophily from the dawn of the ages and of its significance in mankind's struggle for existence. The Darwinists—among whom, as the reader knows, we have never wished to be reckoned—will here find a grateful field for discussing how Man's erotic neophily has led for millenniums to merciless fights for the women, and thereby contributed perhaps more than any other quality to raise him physically and mentally far above their level. Thus the well-known German anthropologist Hermann Klaatsch, too early deceased, sees in this male erotic neophily one of the most potent factors in the sexual differentiation of the human race. We merely accept it as a hitherto unassailable fact which appears to be just as deep-rooted in other mammals as in Man, and therefore possibly will only die out with the human race, or perhaps with the last of the warm-blooded animals. By this we do not mean that the propensity in question and the involved unfairness to women cannot and ought not to be counteracted (in

* Though I suppose no man will be so foolish as to protest that prostitution is now "abolished" in most civilized countries, one now and then comes across people so naïve as to make it necessary to point out that opportunities for loose sexual connections have never been so ample as now and have seldom been so abundantly turned to account.

any case to a certain extent); but we need not go into the ethical side of the question here, where we have only to make it clear that, in spite of all Man's efforts to give satisfaction to Woman as privileged wife in a monogamous establishment, the Athenians (especially the cultured among them) retained side by side with this certain customs and institutions which to modern eyes often appear akin to prostitution, and which are known under the common name of hetærism. The hetæræ of ancient Greece were as a rule slaves, but were for the most part chosen from among the more gifted, and were often well trained in the learning and arts of the time. In frequenting the society of the hetæræ, the Athenians,* or many of them, were endeavouring more or less consciously to neutralize the antagonism between reasons of State and social necessity, which assumed monogamy as the basic unit of society, on the one hand, and on the other the male nature, which renders necessary or desirable a certain degree of polygyny. They did this by splitting their need of women in two parts: one they gave wholly to the wife, the mother and the economic administrator; if she was *good*, she even became her husband's friend (as we saw in Xenophon's picture of Ischomachos' married life); the other to the mistress and—so far as her gifts and training, *e.g.* as an artist, permitted—the companion. The Feminist author Mr. F. A. Wright—with more wit than he usually discloses—has compared the cultured Athenian's relations to wife and hetæra

* No less a person than Socrates held one of his most suggestive dialogues with the celebrated hetæra Theodota, reported by Xenophon in the *Memorabilia*. Solon himself, surnamed "the Wise," established public prostitution in Athens six centuries before the birth of Christ.

respectively with those of the cultured Parisian to wife and actress; and the comparison is the more pertinent in that the relations to hetæra and actress in each case need not always have been of an erotic nature, though often erotically coloured.

It is mainly on this point—then as now—that the attack of Woman and the Feminists against Man, especially the husband, is based; an attack which, *e.g.* in Aristophanes, is formulated as a Feminist programme, which he puts into the mouth of the Greek Feminist Praxagora, addressing her husband: in future all property is to be held in common, money is to be abolished; women too are to be shared in common, but, to prevent all the men resorting to the young and pretty ones, the old and ugly are to have the first right, and similarly the old men are to have the first choice of the young and pretty women.*

The husband tries his old, ever-new objection about the children. Well, all the young people are to be the children of all the elders (we recognize the group marriage of the clan). But Praxagora is specially anxious to do away with prostitution:

> " Then I will have all harlots straight abolished.
> *Husband.* You don't say so! But why?
> *Praxagora.* 'Tis clear to see,
> Youth's freshest vigour is the virgin's right.
> No more the painted slave girl by her arts
> Shall rob free women of sweet Cypris' favours."

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* An arrangement which, curiously enough, is actually put in practice here and there under the clan organization; for instance, among the Banaro people of New Guinea at the present day. See Thurnwald, *op. cit.*, p. 186. Similarly among an Oceanic people: Rivers, *History of Melanesian Society*, 1914. Only when the young men have passed through a sort of ' marriage school " with the older women and vice versa, are the young people allowed to marry each other.

These problems were never brought to open discussion in the older Greek culture, much less in the heroic age (the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*); religion, tradition and authority secured the ancient Greek marriage against any essential disturbance. The distinction between marriage as a social institution and the individual's erotic expansion outside it was accepted without ado as a matter of course, or as a necessary evil. But no sooner had popular reflection, with the spread of democracy, seized upon this state of things than the cleavage between the sexes was a foregone conclusion. A custom was then found established, but, as we know, a custom is only acknowledged as *law* when it is accompanied by an imperturbable conviction that it could not just as well be otherwise. And that most women have run wild in their reflections on this subject, and always will do so, since their natural bent precludes an intellectual comprehension of the basic facts of existence, needs no demonstration. At a certain stage of this development, therefore, not a few men, the born thinkers in particular, feel it incumbent on them to investigate this problem; and on account of the white man's inborn consideration for Woman they are prone to indulge her complaints and demands to the utmost limit. It is, in fact, one of the white man's psychical characteristics, a mark of genuine courage, that he will give years of reflection to, nay, will even test in practice, views which are diametrically opposed to his own and to his nature. This spiritual perfectibility, his psychical, purely intellectual emancipation has assured him in other fields cultural triumphs and incomparable material

advances such as no other race has achieved. But this tendency has another and a terrible side, which has not yet been recognized: induced partly by the very consciousness of his own strength and beguiled by his love of liberty, the white man's intellect sometimes embarks upon discussions and experiments which fly in the face of every sound and honest feeling, every natural instinct. And this is why we find that the white man's society, and especially his social institutions, are more readily and rapidly liable to demoralization, as soon as a more or less artificial reflection—foreign in its nature and based upon barren sophistry—brings family morals, once accepted as a matter of course, under discussion. His intellect at times overshadows his instincts, and as the intellect is by no means always able to take the place of the instincts—it can only do this when it is developed to a power rare even in the white man—he sometimes arrives at a deadlock, until his errors are made plain by a new and *drastic revision*, or until these errors have led to the destruction of the local civilization concerned and its replacement by another, whose foundations are more in agreement with Nature.

This is precisely what happened in Greece. No less a philosopher than Plato took up the cause of women, in so far as he attempted in his book on the subject to solve the problem of the relations of Man and Woman on the basis of equal rights, sexual communism and community of property; that is, in essentials a return to the group marriage of the ancient clan organization (of which he can scarcely have had any inkling), but under the guidance of the State, not of the individual

man. This, however, was never realized, but the course of events was not very much better, since it led to a state of things which the Greek historian Polybius describes in these words:

"In my time (204–122 B.C.) the whole of Greece suffered from a dearth of children and of population generally, whereby the towns were emptied and the land ceased to produce crops, though neither lasting wars nor pestilences had visited us. For men had fallen into arrogance, avarice and luxury; they would not marry, or, if they did so, they did not bring up all their children, but one or two at most, in order that they might grow up in abundance and inherit wealth. Thus the evil increased rapidly, without its being fully observed."

Among the Romans we find a similar progressive dissolution of the family and the home, proportional to the breaking down of the originally unlimited authority of the father of the family and his rights over its members. As Roman legislation followed this course of events more closely than Greek, it is to this extent easier to trace in detail. We cannot dwell on it here, however, but will merely quote the words in which no less a man than Cæsar supported a law against childlessness before the Senate:

"You commit murder in refusing to give life to the children who ought to be begotten by you; you are guilty of sin in letting your ancestor's name and repute die out with you; and you commit treason against your country in making it empty and unfertile. You say that a life without wife and children leaves you free to wander where you will, without reflecting

that in this you are no better than robbers and wild beasts." *

That the men of Rome at this period, one generation before the birth of Christ, were less willing to enter into matrimony, or at any rate to remain in it, was doubtless due in no small degree to the same feministic demands which our day knows so well having gradually come to the front and been put in practice, so that the Roman paterfamilias had lost by degrees most of his privileges, and had little left but his duties and his right to divorce.

Certain aspects of Christianity, with its pronounced feeling for the weak, contributed later on to this "improvement" of the position of women and children; although neither Christianity nor the fathers of the Church showed any other disposition to acknowledge Woman as a being homogeneous, commensurable or on a legal equality with Man.† Otherwise the moral decadence of the family went, then as now, hand in hand with the increasing wealth of Rome, the result of colonial conquest and abundant slave labour, which rendered superfluous, or in any case reduced, the importance of the Woman and wife as an economic force and helper in the home and as manager of the property; corresponding very nearly with the results of the economic and technical development of our

* Quoted in Müller-Lyer, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

† At the Council of Macon in the year 585 the Bishops very seriously deliberated the question whether women were really human beings, and only accepted them as such after a stormy debate. The famous Catholic thinker Thomas Aquinas in his chief work (*Summa Theologica*, Bk. I) based the inferiority of Woman on the assumption of certain deficiencies in her secretions, and thus by purely human observation anticipated an essential feature of the modern theory of hormones.

day, which have deprived the home and domestic industry of much work excellently suited to Woman and transferred it to factories and mass production, whither Woman has followed it. No one can be actually held responsible for this development; we merely record the fact that without it we should scarcely have had a Woman's movement like that of recent times; in any case we should have had no Feminism in its present extreme form. It is a special disease of civilization which sooner or later has attacked almost all communities of the white man; and what makes it particularly dangerous is its being connected, as we have shown, with his power of idealization and his desire of progress, whereby it is mistaken by weak minds—most women and many men—for progress itself.

3. *The Germanic Peoples.*

At the time when the peoples of Southern Germany through contact with the Romans first enter the pages of history (Cæsar, Tacitus), they were grouped in villages and owned the land in common. These villages formed tribes complete in themselves (*gentes*, Cæsar), who claimed descent from a common ancestor, and whose men fought in battle shoulder to shoulder. Each family had its homestead, where it was ruled patriarchally by its father, as in the *zadruga* of the Slavs. Economically speaking, in spite of the community of landholding there were already signs of a differentiation between greater and lesser, richer and poorer families, the difference being mainly one of land-allotment; but apart from this there was only

the class division into freemen and thralls, the latter being as yet not very numerous.

The patriarchy of the ancient Germans was just as firmly rooted as in ancient Roman law. Among Goths, Saxons, Anglo-Saxons, Franks, Burgundians and Longobards the man, in buying his wife of her father, assumes all the rights over her which her father formerly possessed.* She becomes the best and most important of his chattels, and is in fact designated as *das* Weib. Therefore, according to the legal ideas of our remote ancestors, a woman can never become independent or capable of managing her own affairs; she is always subject to some kind of guardianship: first her father's, then her husband's, and after his death that of her grown-up son or next male relative. In other words, the wife stands in the same subordinate relation to her husband as the daughter to her father. Her husband represents her in judicial proceedings, puts forward her claims, avenges insults, defends her, assists her in the disposition of her fortune and determines where she is to live; in short, he is, as he was still said to be in the middle ages, " the woman's head and master." † Adultery was severely punished among all Germanic tribes, though not merely because it was a violation of marriage or morality, but also because it was an infringement of the rights of the husband. For this reason, according to ancient Germanic notions, only the woman could commit adultery; the man's extra-

* Grimm: *Deutsche Rechtsaltertümer*, 4th ed., D. 455, 617.

† Laband: " Die rechtliche Stellung der Frau im altrömischen und im germanischen Recht," *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie*, Vol. III, p. 171, quoted in Müller-Lyer: *Die Familie*.

connubial erotic connections were not held to be breaches either of law or morals. In dealing with an unfaithful wife he was his own judge; she was expelled from the family and chased out of the village, naked and with her hair shorn.

These facts are only in appearance and to a superficial view inconsistent with the celebrated passages of Tacitus' *Germania*, in which he specially tells us of the position of respect and honour which the Germanic woman occupied, above all in her husband's house. It is sometimes forgotten that one of the most genuine features in the masculine psychology of our race is its heroic consideration for the weak, especially when they claim a man's protection or are dependent on him. This trait is typically prominent in the mythological story of Thor's righteous anger at the lameness of his goat, when the peasant has eaten the marrow-bone in spite of the prohibition. The peasant and his family, however, are quickly forgiven, and the Old Norse saga adds in explanation: "When Thor saw their terror, his wrath went from him." Every white man understands that; only unmanly natures grow in insolence as opposition to them weakens. The reality of this psychological trait might and ought to be the subject of an independent work, which unfortunately has still to be written, for the most difficult thing of all is to discover the fundamental characteristics of one's own race and one's own nature.* However, as regards this

* Perhaps we may most readily come upon the real significance of this trait by examining another psychical feature of the white man's character: his unique love of and care for his domestic animals. Cruelty to animals has always been regarded in the North as, if possible, a baser and more shameful action

apparent contradiction between the legal status of the family and its actual treatment by its head, we refer to what we have already said and to what Dr. Nörlund has written on the normal relations between master and servant, freeman and slave, in Roman law, which in many ways resembles the Germanic, and which afterwards directly influenced the development of the latter throughout the middle ages.

In Denmark it was the rule till late in the heathen Viking Age that one man might marry several women —his wife's female relatives, for instance—when, in the course of migrations and raids with their frequently terrible losses, so many men of the *herred* * had fallen that there was no other means of securing husbands for all the young women and of renewing the population. This is the main explanation, overlooked by most historians (Professor Johannes Steenstrup, however, was partly aware of it in his *Normannertiden*), of the immense military strength and power of regeneration, never since equalled, which was displayed by the North during the whole Viking Age, and which presumably was even more pronounced in the period of the Great Migrations both before and after the birth of Christ, when generation after generation, century after century, Scandinavia sent out one migration after another, to Northern Russia, the Ukraine, Austria,

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than tormenting weak and subordinate fellow-men. The animal has no legal rights, is inarticulate and defenceless, and yet —or perhaps precisely for these reasons—is treated better by the white man than by any other race on earth.

* The *herred* was the most ancient Northern division of the people. It meant the district (*red*) which could muster for war an army (*her*) of 120 men [cf. the English *hundred*.—Tr.].

Greece, Italy, even to Asia Minor, and—who knows?—in yet earlier ages perhaps as far as India. It is for this reason that the scholars and monkish scribes of Southern Europe, from Tacitus to Dudo and the chroniclers of Charlemagne, with a mixture of terror and admiration, call the then rather thinly populated Scandinavia (as compared with the present day) * *vagina gentium*, the womb of nations, from which army after army poured out, year after year, no matter how many were vanquished and slain abroad; and they little guessed how literally this was true (for it was, in fact, the great number of fertile wombs that maintained the race, rather than the number of men, often greatly reduced), until on closer acquaintance they discovered the secret of our strength, and on the introduction of Christianity succeeded by degrees in enforcing ever stricter measures against all kinds of polygyny in the North. The efforts of Charlemagne, of Ansgar and of all the Romano-Anglican clerics to introduce not only Christianity as a religion, but also its sexual morality among the Scandinavian peoples, had as their background a brilliant and statesmanlike view of the necessity of checking the then indestructible military strength and renovating power of the Northerners, and the best means of bringing this about was the Church's sanction of monogamy alone. It will be seen in the following pages that for our part we are in favour

* Even in the relatively populous Viking Age there were at the most two million inhabitants, against twelve at the present day. In proportion to *Europe*, however, its strength was much greater than now, since at that time the population of the whole of Germany was scarcely more than five millions, of France eight, and of England a million and a half at the most.

of this system, but this does not obscure our vision of the hitherto unrecognized fact that we owe it above all to our forefathers' temporary and periodical polygyny that the white man, in spite of his limited and frozen points of departure in the poor north-western corner of Europe, is still as numerously and as well represented in Europe as he is, and that the first step on his military and political downward course coincided with the Christian propaganda for the spread of unconditional monogamy in the North.

Otherwise the medieval Christian view of Woman was by no means better than that of the ancient Germans, but rather the reverse. While the ancient Germans not only treated Woman with respect and affection, but also saw in certain of her qualities a peculiar power (they counted to no small extent on her "divination" or, as we should say, her instinct and intuition) and often consulted her on the most serious matters and followed her advice, though they were in no way bound to do so, the fathers of the Church and the canon law, on the other hand, consistently make Woman the object of a general depreciation, to which the story of the Fall of Man through her and the Serpent also contributed. The canon law therefore lays down that Woman was not created in God's image; that Adam was seduced by Eve and not vice versa, and that Man is to be the lord of Woman lest he again be led into error by following her.

But at the same time the Church secured the position of Woman by forbidding the dissolution of marriage on other grounds than adultery; this prohibition was effected in Germany in the twelfth century. On the

other hand, it was only in the sixteenth century that measures could be carried against *concubinage*, against which the Church had always fulminated without being able to abolish it, on account of the tenacity with which the ancient Germanic view of a certain erotic liberty on the part of the husband prevailed among the laity, while in medieval Danish law he had the right to kill his wife and her lover if he caught them *in flagranti* and brought the blood-stained sheets and bedclothes into court as evidence.*

Furthermore, the husband had sole authority in matters relating to property: in Germany a woman could not conclude any transaction at all on her own account, and there were detailed regulations of what sums she might disburse without special permission from the master of the house.† In English common law the married woman was essentially without rights; she could neither make a will nor conclude agreements nor appear in court, and her personal property and earnings were in the hands of her husband. Only her real property he was not allowed to sell, even with his wife's consent, but the management of it and the income were in his hands. Something similar was the case in France. Of course it by no means follows from all this that the position of married women was really a bad one or that their influence was slight; it merely signifies that until two generations ago the husband

* *Danske Lov*, Bk. VI, cap. 12, § 4–5; Secher's ed., Copenhagen, 1891, p. 931.

† As late as 1608 Christian IV of Denmark caused the daughter of Jacob Pedersen, mayor of Kolding, to be imprisoned, at her father's request, for continued "improper" behaviour to her parents.

was regarded as the natural centre of gravity of the family, and that until then no one had thought it possible to erect either the political, the economic or the family organization except on the principle that in all the works of man, and especially in any kind of social organization, there must be one and one only to make all dispositions, and, above all, in cases of doubt to say the final word, for which he also bears the full responsibility.

CHAPTER V

THE WOMAN QUESTION IN ANTIQUITY

NOTHING can be more surprising to people of our day, who believe not only that they are the creators of all the mechanical arts and of the most advanced civilization, but also that their *experience* is wider than that of any preceding age, than to discover, on a closer study of classical and especially Greek culture, that there is literally not an idea, not a feeling, not a moral concept, scarcely even a nuance of the human psyche, which was not experienced and thought out in the civilization of that day, and moulded into literature, philosophy and art with a precision and a depth that have never since been surpassed. Our own evidence in the matter is entirely impartial: at school and at the university, with all the scientific ambitions of our generation, we took the mathematical and physical course, with but slight regard for classical and especially Greek studies, which at that time were thought to be unprofitable.* And perhaps they are so to a man who is only going to build flying machines; but to anyone who is to live in a civilized community and take part in maintaining its intellectual and moral

* Fortunately, however, Latin was retained even on the modern side to a sufficient extent to enable us to read Tacitus in the original.

standard—and which of us has not to do this?—an education in the humanities is simply indispensable. Our generation's failure to appreciate this meant not only a vulgarization of the general level of modern humanity, but even in certain respects a sheer brutalization; and the first thing the educational system of the future has to do is to repair this defect, unless our level of culture, already dangerously depressed through all kinds of political, economic and social democracy, is to sink so low that there will be nothing left but technical training. For when that day arrives, technics will also be in danger: their maintenance and development demand an intellect with a knowledge of man and of society; and this we are well on the way to forgetting, though it could be learnt by a few years' study of the men, women and social conditions of the classical period. A glance back at the human and social problems of that period has therefore an importance far transcending our present purpose, which is to obtain thereby an aid to the comprehension of the relations between the sexes, and in particular of the invasion of the white man's civilization by Feminism.

The Greece of antiquity is eminently adapted for a study of this kind, since there is scarcely any longer a doubt that this Greece was the creation of the white man in his most pronounced form—the Nordic race—and shared the ruin of this race and of its supremacy over the Mediterranean peoples on which it had been engrafted. To us as an anthropologist the modelling of the male and female type in classical Greek sculpture is enough in itself to attest the probability of the hypothesis whereby the *Northern* invaders, the Dorian

and Ionian tribes of history, were for the most part Scanians, Jutes, Holsteiners, Goths or North Germans. All these sculptures show, in a more or less idealized form, the features and anthropological measurements of the Nordic race, whether in men or women, gods or mortals. That the *language* points to a kinship, and its technical and domestic vocabulary to a common economic–cultural starting-point for Greeks, Latins, Goths and Germans, is of less moment than was formerly believed, since the victor may adopt the language of the vanquished, whose women he usually took—whereby it became the mother tongue. But the language of biology cannot easily be falsified, anthropological traits persist obstinately and appear again and again, in accordance with Mendel's laws of heredity, in spite of millenniums of crossing and blending; and with the help of the science of anthropology we can rediscover the original human types, even where time has done much to efface them.

On the other hand, the *psychical* evidence, that of literature and art, seems to us weightier than the linguistic and just as weighty as the biological in answering the question, What kind of men were they who created the civilized communities of Greece, Asia Minor and the coasts of Italy, whose history has since had a magical attraction for the rest of Europe, especially its northern part? We then find that the farther we penetrate into the intellectual culture of that time in all its fields, the more forcibly the conviction, which is at the same time an explanation, is thrust upon us—why, all this is not merely flesh of our flesh, but mind of our mind. If anyone finds the hypothesis too daring

—and it is easy to bring forward a mass of detailed objections, which, however, have never upset any foursquare conception (any more than Tycho Brahe's demonstration of the—apparent—parallelism of the parallaxes upset Copernicus's hypothesis of the sun as the centre of planetary motions)—then let him examine with us the attitude of that time towards the most human of all subjects: marriage and the Woman Question, and he will soon see that classical culture two thousand five hundred years ago had already been through its purgatory in this respect and had encountered exactly the same problems as ourselves. Anyone whom even this demonstration fails to impress is past helping; but, after all, our assumption of an original identity of race between the primitive Gotho-Germanic and the Hellenic peoples does not affect, of course, our view of the actual cultural facts then and now. There is nothing to prevent our supposing that the Woman Question and Feminism developed in a similar way in two cultures and two periods, without there being necessarily any community of race between the originators of these cultures; and, on the other hand, these questions might be supposed to take fundamentally different forms in two cultures, in spite of their close anthropological kinship. To one who clings to the older doctrine, originally based on language, that the civilized man of the South came from the East, the many common features in this fatal question of Feminism will be nothing more than an interesting curiosity. To the rest, who understand that the European civilized man—that is, the man most susceptible to civilization—has *always* come from the

North, and that only mind, and preferably Nordic mind, that can create or revive higher forms of culture, these common features of the development of family life will be one more reminder. Most archæologists, historians and to some extent anthropologists fail to understand, in spite of all their specialized learning, either the difference or the connection between one group of facts: that the man of the North almost always (after the later Stone Age) obtained or fetched (had to fetch) most of his economic and technical acquisitions from the East or the South, and another group of facts, which prove that only he can make full use of them.*

* An example will explain the whole of the current misunderstanding: Our Northern Stone Age culture is doubtless now acknowledged as of native origin and as the highest on earth, simply because the best technical medium, flint, is not found in sufficient quantities outside the Baltic countries, and owing to its nature could not—then, at all events—be transported elsewhere in bulk. But when the age of metals appears in the North, with all its acquisitions, we are told that we got the Bronze Age culture from the South. This is a fatal error, based on the same confusion between culture and technics that has so often led modern enquirers astray. The *metals* and many objects of metal we certainly obtained from the South, and the Northerner procured them, by trading or raiding, because he has *always* understood the necessity of being *technically* up to date, then as now; all the more since we are few against many. But the culture itself, the power of appropriate adaptation and application of the newly-discovered technical means, was then, as now, possessed by the Northerner in a higher degree than by any other people, which Northern shipbuilding in all ages is enough to prove; whereas, for instance, the peoples of the Mediterranean to this day employ even seagoing vessels of a type which is incapable of sailing close-hauled.

Official scholarship is here guilty of a false conclusion similar to that which we may imagine the enquirers of the distant future would fall into, if after a new glacial period, which had destroyed all written literature, they came across the remains of a Diesel motor in a Danish moraine on the site of Copenhagen, and

Some people will be annoyed by this racial theory, which they think they have met with from Gobineau at the beginning to Lapouge at the close of the nineteenth century, revived by Pangermanism partly for a political purpose, and finally rendered in a high

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concluded therefrom that Northern Europe in our day drew all its culture from America, because iron, coal and oil are to be found there in greatest abundance. As we know, the case is exactly the reverse: it is only these technical means that Northern Europe has obtained in great measure from America, which possessed these resources, unused by the local races (Indians and Eskimos), until the Nordic race (at first through England) came there and performed the wonders we all know, both in the new colony and, with geographically retroactive force, in the mother country, Northern Europe. We must regard the relation between the Northerner as the creator of culture in Europe since the dawn of the ages, and the Mediterranean countries which were his new economic–technical field, in an analogous way, if we are to understand the matter at all. In poor and cold Northern and Central Europe, but only there, the qualities of mind and character necessary to attain the maxima of culture, till then unknown in the world, were developed and consolidated, then as now. A maximum of this kind appears whenever a considerable collection of the right sort of men are transferred, by migration, for instance, to surroundings which supply the desirable *outward* conditions (warmth, fertility, a population capable of working under orders, and so on) lacking in their northern home. It is the *incessant* struggle against these deficiencies and difficulties in the North, with its incentive to industry and invention, that has made the Nordic race what it is; but at the same time the natural limitations and niggardliness of their native surroundings have prevented them from attaining all they are capable of in better conditions. That is why the outstanding individual of Nordic race does wonders wherever he goes, especially in countries more favourable than his homeland, and has done ever since the legendary expedition of the *Iliad* to Asia Minor, down through the foundation of most of the European States in the period of the great migrations, to the creation of modern America. But if he travels too far, especially in a climatic sense, from his starting-point, his blood becomes diluted, either biologically through crossing, or numerically by other immigrations, and then the culture which stands or falls with him and his mental powers will languish sooner or later.

degree anthropologically probable by such men as Ammon, Wilser and Woltmann in recent years. But we have arrived at these results independently of the other, biological and anthropological, enquirers, and (see the note) by entirely different ways, in particular by the study of economic, technical and historical factors. And when in the following pages we see how the *psyche*, the intellectual culture, in its most important spheres also bears a common stamp among all *dominant* races of North, South, East and West, the community of blood and race will finally be established as accurately as any scientific theory can be; and in any circumstances it is a working hypothesis without which we know nothing, literally nothing, of the flourishing and decay either of classical or modern culture.*

A closer study of the relations between Man and Woman as reflected in classical Greek literature shows that, broadly speaking, we can distinguish three periods in Greek antiquity, each with its own mental attitude as regards the treatment and consideration of women. The first of these periods, from about 1000 to 700 B.C., the period of ancient migrations and expeditions (*Greek Viking Age*), is characterized by a heroic view of Woman; the second, from 700 to 400 B.C., the period of stabilization and of the highest culture (*Greek Classicism*), by a misogynic, and the third, down to the Roman domination, by a semi-heroic, semi-

* Spengler's complicated culture theories are a proof of how artificial, nay, impossible is any explanation which does not penetrate to the biological–anthropological core of the culture and adopt our fundamental point of view and that of recent anthropologists as a working hypothesis for the study of the development of culture in the white man's world.

misogynic view, which also forms the basis of the medieval consideration and treatment of Woman. The interplay of these views contained, then as later, certain feministic germs, as we shall see in the conclusion. As far as Greece is concerned, we call this third (heterogeneous) period that of *Dissolution*, decadence

The heroic view of Woman in the Greek Viking Age is clearly brought out both in the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad*, especially in the former. Woman is doubtless subject in all things to Man's authority, as with the Gotho-Germans, but as a rule she is treated chivalrously, and is seldom alluded to in depreciating, much less scornful terms: if we were to characterize Homeric sexual morality in a few words, we might apply Nietzsche's apothegm from *Zarathustra*: "Man shall be trained for war, and Woman for the recreation of the warrior: all else is folly." This ancient Greek ideal of Man and Woman is depicted with a beauty, force and clarity unique in literature in the descriptions, equally significant and profound dramatically and lyrically, of the relations between the hero Odysseus and his wife Penelope. The chieftain has his hands full of all kinds of warfare and adventure far from home, devoting the maximum of his strength and cunning to heroic deeds of war and peace, but never turning his back on a love affair, while Penelope sits at home waiting for him for twenty years, though she has good reason for believing him dead and is exposed to more temptations to be false to him and his memory than have assailed any woman. One of the finest traits in this description is perhaps the hint

that what Penelope feels is not in the first place an erotically coloured attachment to her heroic husband, nor merely the prescriptive fidelity of the married woman, but also the noble woman's consciousness of what she owes to herself as Odysseus' wife. As though in passing, this finds expression in such a sentence as that in which she wishes for death, "so that with Odysseus in my mind I may pass beneath the pitiless earth and never gladden the heart of a *baser* man." * One could wish that many modern wives, whose behaviour is often the worse, the better their husband is and the *baser* the foreign object of their fancy (enemy soldiers and officers, occasionally negroes from an exhibition or from the fleets of foreign Powers)—had at any rate something of this dignity in default of morals. Again, the description of the relations between Odysseus and Nausicaa gives us a picture of a young woman who can be frank without frivolity, amiable without gush and cautious without prudery—in short, a girlish ideal that originated in the North and has never been found elsewhere. The view of Woman implied herein is so general both in the *Iliad* and in the *Odyssey* that it is easier to mention the two most important exceptions. One of these is the half-comic, half-improper love affair between Ares and Aphrodite, who are caught in the act in the net of Hephæstus. This scene is supposed to be a later addition. The other is the famous episode where Hera, with the aid of all the arts of the toilet and the zone of Aphrodite, beguiles her errant consort Zeus, whom in reality she detests. Such wiles are otherwise foreign to Homer's

* *Odyssey*, XX, 80–82. Quoted in Heiberg, *Eros*, p. 163.

heroines: they either love or hate, whole-heartedly; hypocrisy is practically unknown to them.

Even Briseis, who is only a slave and thus fated to pass from hand to hand like any other of the spoils of war, is treated chivalrously, nay, with respect, by no less a hero than Achilles. This episode is one of the most beautiful and instructive in the whole poem.

An author who has recently made a special study of this subject * remarks very aptly of Homer's sexual morality that it is of *Scandinavian* type, though he has no idea of anthropology, nor does he seem to have heard of the view we have sketched above, which regards the whole of classical culture as created and organized by Northern immigrants. He is, however, fully aware of the relative paucity of these Northern heroes, which was not remedied even when a new invasion (that of the Dorians) had followed the earlier ones; and he correctly explains the subsequent change of view regarding women as brought about in the main by the (biological) dilution of the dominant race, the original immigrants, and their absorption in the far more numerous Mediterranean race, who have always looked upon Woman with some scepticism,† a thing not in itself very remarkable; but in contra-

* F. A. Wright, *Feminism in Greek Literature from Homer to Aristotle*, p. 8. London, 1923.

† This scepticism has been inherited in more recent times by the French (one-third Mediterranean, one-third Alpine, one-third Germanic crossing, though differently proportioned in different parts of the country), in spite of all Romance gallantry. See the Bibliography for the Norwegian author Öksnevad's books on this subject. By way of example we may quote Dumas *fils*: "According to the Bible, woman was the last thing God created. Presumably he created her on Saturday night. We can see the signs of fatigue."

distinction to the Northern Europeans, the Mediterraneans usually express this scepticism in a way devoid of humour, bitter and at times passing all bounds of decency.

The first typical representatives of the misogynic period's view of Woman are Archilochus, Simonides and Hipponax. Archilochus lived in the seventh century B.C., and seems to have been influenced by an unpleasant personal experience. He was betrothed to a certain Cleobule, daughter of a wealthy citizen of the isle of Paros. But her father Lycombes forbad the match, and thus he lost her, for whom he seems to have felt a genuine devotion, since he remembers her in images such as this: "She was wont to deck herself with myrtle and roses; when she loosed her hair it covered with its shadow both her shoulders and her back. Miserable am I, as I lie here, fettered by longings, penetrated to the marrow by pain and dread!" But when at last he pulls himself together and goes into battle with such fury that he throws away his shield, without, however, receiving a wound, his love quickly turns to hate. He consoles himself with the reflection that many a man will be served as he has been, and that the time will soon come when her beauty will fade and "wither like dried leaves." Unfortunately we have but few of his epigrams on Woman; one of them is to this effect: "No sooner was Miss High-and-Mighty a wife than she kicked over the traces." *

Simonides of Amorga left sufficient fragments to enable us to obtain a clearer insight into his view of

* See Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

Woman. One of them runs literally as follows: "Women are the greatest evil God ever created. Even if at times they appear useful, they soon turn into a torment for their owners. A man who lives together with a woman never passes a whole day without disturbance, and it is not easy for him to drive his greatest enemy, hunger, out of the house. And just when the man has thoughts of being happy in his home—by the grace of God or the help of men—the woman always finds some cause for complaint and arms herself for war. Where there is a wife you can never invite a guest without the fear of trouble. Besides which, the woman who seems aptest, may well be the most fatal of all. For her husband is agape with admiration for her, while his neighbour laughs at him and his error. Men are so preposterous that each will praise his own wife, but speak ill of his neighbour's; while nobody sees that we are all in the same predicament, for, as I began by saying, this is the greatest evil God created." Still more malicious and therefore better known is his enumeration of the ten kinds of women God created from ten different elements, especially from the animals, the fox, the dog, the ass, etc.; but also from the sea with its whims. Only *one* woman did God create from the industrious bee; lucky the man who gets one of these.

Hipponax is the originator of the rather cheap witticism, which is often quoted more or less jocosely nowadays: "There are only two days of your life when you have joy of your wife: at her wedding and at her funeral." More interesting is another of his remarks: "It is hard to find a woman who will not

only bring you a dowry, but will make herself useful." In order fully to understand the men's peculiar interest in their wives not only being generally industrious, but in their producing more than they consumed, we must realize the peculiar conditions of the domestic economy of that day, which depended in great measure on the wife, so that the material welfare of the whole family was contingent on her personal capability and conscientiousness, even more than now, when everything can be bought outside, if only the *husband* earns enough, that is, *works* hard enough. We have only to reflect that the daily bread, from field to bakery, had to be prepared without labour-saving machinery, chiefly by the hand-power of the wife and her maids (later also by the slaves), so that it was literally only the capable and persevering women who could winnow, grind and bake more corn and meal than they themselves ate. In a corresponding way the men had to employ most of their time and strength in acquiring skill in arms, which in default of mechanical means of warfare demanded years of systematic bodily exercises, and in many other occupations, especially commercial and political.

Idleness and greediness seem therefore to have been the worst of Woman's commonplace faults in the eyes of the men of that time; for infidelity there was not much opportunity, she was kept too strictly within doors and the penalty was too severe. To make up for the restraints of her position she evidently revenged herself, as Professor Heiberg says,* by making the man's daily life as uncomfortable as possible.

* *Kvindespörgsmaalet i det gamle Athen.*

Most malicious of all criticisms of women are those of the Ionians, especially those contained in the so-called "Stories from Miletus." They are as a whole so unmannerly that they cannot well be reproduced in a modern book. Only one of them can be quoted, that of "The Widow of Ephesus." There was once a wife in Ephesus so full of virtue that all the women of the neighbouring country flocked to see this wonderful creature. When her husband died she would not be content with the mourning customs usually prescribed, but insisted on following the dead into the underground sepulchre in which he was to rest. She remained there five days, refusing to take any food. The whole country echoed with the story. Meanwhile some robbers were crucified near the spot, and a soldier who was guarding the corpses perceived a light coming from the tomb where the wife was mourning over her husband's corpse. Curiosity led him to examine the tomb, and when he found the widow dissolved in grief, he endeavoured to console her with phrases about the transitoriness of life, with no other result but to irritate her. However, the soldier was more fortunate with her maid, with whom he shared his rations, and *she* at last succeeded in persuading the widow to do the same. Soon all three were eating and drinking together, and, adds the narrator, we all know the effect of a good meal: the door of the tomb was closed, and if anyone is in doubt as to the sequel, he can read it for himself in the original. But the most interesting point is the conclusion. When a few days later it occurs to the soldier to go and look at the crucified robbers, one of them has been taken

down and carried off by relatives, who have thus availed themselves of the soldier's neglect of duty. He is then about to commit suicide, but is prevented by the widow, who hits upon the expedient of hanging her dead husband on the cross in order to save her live soldier.

In itself this satire is nothing but the old joke, repeated to-day in the comic papers of most countries, of the mourning widow who very soon manages to console herself in a new marriage, often with an acquaintance made at the funeral, and so far it is only a parody of the psychical defects of Woman to which we have already called attention: her normal superficiality, inconstancy and susceptibility to what is *present*. If it is commonly true that *les absents ont toujours tort*, it is doubly true where Woman is concerned that the absent is always wrong, while the present is often called right, even when he is wrong. But in the form it takes in this story, misogyny has nevertheless been carried to an unnecessary pitch of bitterness which cannot be explained on any Northern construction, but suggests that the heroic spirit of bygone generations had in many places already become attenuated to the advantage of the oppressive realism of the Mediterranean race. And a partial explanation of this hatred of women may perhaps be found in the history of the colonization of the Ionian islands. Herodotus tells us that the first colonists of Melos were unmarried warriors, who killed all the men and took their wives. The women then swore a solemn oath, which was passed on to their daughters in perpetuity, that never should a wife eat with her husband and

never call him by his name. For the men had killed their husbands and sons, and married them by force. Thus enmity between the sexes was said to be hereditary in Melos, and thus home life was poisoned by the banishment of affection and devotion, and one of the consequences was said to be the extreme misogynic tone of the tales from Melos.*

On the mainland of Greece the course of events was more normal, especially in Athens and Sparta in the succeeding period (circa 400–100 B.C.), which we characterized above as semi-heroic, semi-misogynic in its relations to Woman. In studying the contemporary evidence regarding the view taken of women, we must keep before us as a background the legal and social position of Woman in Attica and Sparta, as described in outline in the last chapter, on the History of Marriage. From this it appears that Woman's purely juridico-social position corresponded very nearly to that obtaining among the Gotho-Germanic peoples, but with the important difference resulting in the first place from the Greek communities consisting in the main of comparatively large city States with their attendant difficulties and vices, whereas the Gotho-Germans lived in small village communities with simple customs and conditions that could be taken in at a glance; in the second place from the fact that the Athenians in any case were strongly infected in their

* It frequently resulted from the very nature of older warlike colonization that the marriages were for the most part a crossing of the Baltic man's race with the Mediterranean woman's race. This involved a psychical danger, since the *distance* between the sexes became even greater than elsewhere, and a biological, through the discordant results of crossing and in any case the weakening of the Nordic element.

view of Woman by the Mediterranean, and more especially the Eastern fear of having more fellowship with Woman and giving her more freedom of movement than was strictly necessary. Their wives, of course, were often of Mediterranean race, and the crossing was increased with growing internationalization and colonization.

The attitude of reservation towards Woman is most clearly apparent, though in a sympathetic form, in precisely the most eminent statesmen and historians of that day, even in those whose whole view of life, including their view of Woman, was of the heroic stamp. Herodotus, Thucydides and Pericles all disclose the same tendency, when they—relatively rarely—make any special mention of women. For they were all politicians, and in their view politics was the business of Man, not of Woman. Their estimate of her may be most tersely summed up in the words of Pericles: "A woman's highest honour is not to sink below the position for which Nature has qualified her, and that woman is best who is least in men's mouths, whether for praise or blame."

In agreement with this, we hear but little in Thucydides' masterly history of Pericles' wife, but something of his mistress Aspasia.

Judging from the contents of his tragedies, the greatest contemporary Greek dramatist, Sophocles, adhered to the same view, since in spite of all his artistic objectivity he usually shows the disasters which result from any opposition, however natural, to the supremacy of Man and of the Law. The *Antigone* is the best example of the conflict, admitted by Sophocles

to be tragic, of the orphaned and unmarried girl—in Greece not merely a slave, but something far worse, a slave without a master—who is nevertheless prepared to oppose her personality and her conscience to men and their laws. In this celebrated tragedy Sophocles makes his greatest concession to Woman as a human being, and no doubt his only one, so far as we can judge from the titles of his lost dramas: *Helena*—a woman who deserted husband and country—*Eriphyle*, who betrayed her husband for money; *Pandora*, destroyer of men's peace; *Procris*, *Tyro*—one and all female figures calculated to confirm the Athenian in his conviction that Woman was by nature a weak and easily swayed creature, on whom one had to keep an eye or risk losing honour, life and limb. Sophocles has drawn his own ideal of Woman in the two slave figures, Deianira and Tecmessa, who have no existence apart from their lord and master and are not even angry when he deserts them, but are ready to do anything to get him back. Plato's anecdote of Sophocles is also significant. In his old age the famous poet and general was asked what he really thought about love. "Hush!" he replied: "I escaped fairly well and feel just like a slave who is quit of a bad master." Here we have in a few words the semi-heroic, semi-misogynic moral: women and man's love of them are a necessary evil, which a real man gets rid of in as few words as possible, since the more fuss is made about the fair sex, the more intolerable it becomes.* This view is also of frequent occurrence

* There is here a legacy from the heroic age, whose men regarded the bondage of a passionate love as a dangerous matter,

nowadays, and recently found expression as follows from the lips of a paradoxical foreign Professor: "A permanent marriage is only tolerable when the wife says *Sie* to the husband, but he calls her *Du*."

Another eminent Greek of the period who at least *attempts* to exhibit Woman as possessing equal rights, is the tragedian Æschylus. In *The Persians* Xerxes is the weak one, but his mother, the Queen regent Atossa, is a strong and energetic woman. In his *Suppliant Maidens*, the social question, Is a woman to be forced to marry and make over her property to the nearest male relative, even if she abhors him? is answered in the negative, although it was the Greek law.

Nevertheless Æschylus is not a Feminist like certain of the moderns, who agitate not merely for social equality, but for a relaxed sexual morality. On the contrary, he makes King Danaus say to his daughters: "I beg you, bring no shame upon me, ye whose youthful beauty is so attractive to men. It is never easy to protect sweet, ripe fruit; men are like beasts, they do but despoil it. . . . Remember the behests of your father, and prize your virtue higher than your lives."

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especially for a hero. See on this point Heiberg's essay *Eros*, especially pp. 169–170; also Lönborg's new book on the same subject. Many cultured Greeks thought that idealistic love was not possible at all between Man and Woman, but only between equals, that is men. I have enquired in vain of all the classical scholars I know whether it was this misogynic trait that contributed to the then widespread vice of pæderasty, but none of them has been able to give me an answer, nor to offer any explanation of this perversity, to which the most famous men of that time were addicted as a matter of course.

The daughters of Danaus had to fly with him, because they had slain their husbands on the wedding night; but this problem itself was only treated by Æschylus in the *Agamemnon*, a drama which deals precisely with the question, Has a woman ever the right to kill her husband? and is followed by Orestes' drama on the theme, Has a son ever the right to kill his mother, even to avenge his father's death? * Æschylus, indeed, remains impartial, but these actions let loose a flood of disasters which incline most people to look doubtfully both upon Clytemnestra and Orestes, although Agamemnon is no very sympathetic figure. Æschylus' presentment of the daughter Electra is interesting: she does not feel the slightest qualm of conscience, while the son Orestes is immediately tormented by remorse and haunting terror, culminating in the vengeance of the Eumenides.

While Æschylus is the only Feminist of classical antiquity and only deserves the name in so far as he represents Woman as independent and takes her life and her dilemmas seriously, there is, as we have seen already, no lack of Anti-Feminists in this period. A peculiar and interesting position is occupied by Euripides, whom we will therefore examine rather more closely.

We had an allusion to him in the last chapter, with a quotation from Aristophanes, from which it would appear that his contemporaries regarded Euripides as a misogynist. On the other hand, a modern writer,

* Under patriarchy the former crime is the greater, under matriarchy the latter. The original legend bears marks of having originated in a transitional period between matriarchy and patriarchy within the ancient tribe concerned.

himself an arrant Feminist,* puts him down as the most pronounced Feminist of classical antiquity. A closer analysis will not only solve these contradictions, but—what is more important—will throw new light on the relations then existing between the sexes, through long discussions between leading representatives of both sexes. First, however, we must briefly characterize Euripides himself. Everyone knows that he is accounted the greatest dramatist of antiquity; on the other hand, it is less well known that he belonged to an emphatically *realistic* school and was at the same time a *pacifist*. We of the present day, whose experience of the influence of war on human life and character is as painful as that of Euripides, will easily understand his pacifism, but will take exception to his realism, which—like that of the present day—delights in the grimmest horrors of human passion and becomes self-contradictory in its one-sidedness, since *reality* is compounded of good and evil, not entirely of evil.† But was he at the same time a Feminist?

The primary difficulty in answering this question lies in Euripides having been, after all, too great an artist to allow his plays to be penetrated with, or his persons to represent, any transparent tendency. There are many passages in his extant plays in which a man takes women to task, and perhaps even more in which women call men to account; in both cases in such a way that the speakers appear to be perfectly right, and thus their utterances may be used as arguments

* Wright, *Feminism in Greek Literature*, pp. 86–134.

† We need only compare the conception and narrative of the heroic exploits of "the Greek Viking Age" in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* with those of Euripides.

by whichever side they serve. We take a few of the most emphatic examples to show this.

In the *Phœnician Maidens* the chief personage says, "Women are a race of squabblers. If women are given the smallest chance of making trouble they are quick to take advantage of it. Women find a sort of enjoyment in speaking insincerely of one another." In the *Hippolytus:* "Discordant is the music of Woman's life, pitiable helplessness is her lot; truly she is a bad house-mate. Childbirth and female weakness lead to distraction." In *The Children of Heracles* the Athenian male morality is voiced by the girl Macaria: "Silence, tact and a quiet indoors life are best for Woman." But in the *Medea* Euripides makes his protagonist plead the cause of women very pithily. It is true that he has not made Medea particularly sympathetic, but so pronounced an Elvira type as she is apt to verge either on the comic or the tedious, even when she is—at any rate partly—in the right, as when she says: "Of all creatures who draw breath and have understanding here on earth, we women are the most miserable; we are nothing but a living thing. First we must bid against one another to buy a lord and master of our bodies. This is a dangerous matter, whether we get a scoundrel or an honourable man. No woman can honourably leave her husband, and we may not deny them anything. . . If we do our work well, and our master shares the house with us, and we make no resistance, our life is a tolerable one. If not, death were better. When a man is tired of his house-mate, he goes out and purges himself of his troubles, but we women are forced ever to have one

single soul before our eyes." This and many other sentences might be taken from a modern ladies' paper. And many a husband of the present day will answer with Jason: "You abuse your (domestic) power, therefore you must begone." And to her somewhat self-righteous insistence that she has left all for his sake, he merely replies coolly: "I am a man out of the common; you fell in love with me—that was very natural." But of greatest interest is Euripides' clear apprehension of the important psycho-erotic differences between the sexes. This is voiced by Medea in the following way:

"When human love is exaggerated, it is neither excellent nor trustworthy. Nevertheless sex is a divine and glorious thing, when it is kept within bounds. I pray for a moderate disposition: it is boasting, quarrelsomeness and incessant nagging that drive a husband into the arms of another woman." Her insight only stops short of completeness on a single point: that most remarkable men, such as her own Jason, are at the same time powerfully erotic, and that a woman may indeed be mated with a moderate and faithful masculine temperament, but must then as a rule abandon the hope of finding in him distinctive psychical qualities; and that Nature has decreed that a woman can only get and keep a hero if she is ready to pay the price—the pain or resignation involved by his inborn erotic neophily. She demands the impossible of Jason and threatens him with divine punishment, to which he answers: "It has come so far with you women that you think all is well if you have your husband's bed to yourselves; but if you fail in this,

you vent your hatred upon what is best and most beautiful!—Would it were possible for man to beget children in some other way and the female sex did not exist. Then we should be free of all our troubles." * She feigns to yield, but only to kill his (their) children in her rage and thirst for vengeance. "They say we women live in safety within doors, while men fight with spears like heroes. But the men are mad. Rather would I take my stand three times in the ranks of battle than give birth to a child. A mother risks her life in bringing a child into the world—has she not a better right than the father to kill it, if she wishes?" We fancy we are reading the arguments for the modern woman's defence of child-murder—but this is Medea's self-defence 2500 years ago! And yet she had *some* right on her side, in so far as *the father was then allowed* to kill new-born infants, if he thought he could not bring them up, and it was chiefly the girls who were involved, as there was more use for men, who in those troubled times met their death in so many ways on sea and land.† Equally violent is Euripides' portrait of Andromache, Hector's widow, whose little son is killed for political reasons, while she herself is handed over to the son of her husband's slayer; of Polyxena, who is sacrificed on the grave of Achilles; and of Hecuba, who becomes the slave of Odysseus. No wonder that the wife of Priam seeks vengeance by decoying Polymestor, King of Thrace, to the captive

* Heiberg, *Eros*, p. 168. Euripides, *Medea*, 1. 569.

† This custom of infanticide is defended by Plato and was also practised in the North, where indeed it persisted until long after the introduction of Christianity. See, for instance, the opening of the Old Norse Saga of Gunnlaug Snaketongue.

women's tent, killing his children before his eyes and then blinding him. Euripides makes him exclaim: "If anyone has spoken, speaks now or shall hereafter speak ill of women, his words will fall far short of mine: neither sea nor land rears such a breed as women; only the man who has had to deal with them knows of what they are capable."

But the Chorus—composed of women, as usual with Euripides—replies (certainly with Euripides): "Be not over-fierce against us nor bring the feminine element into your troubles. There is no need to blame all womankind." And Wright adds one of the few remarks in which we agree with him: if Hecuba had been a man, her crime would have been celebrated by contemporaries and by posterity as a deed of true heroism.*

Euripides, then, is a Feminist, if by this term we simply mean one who attributes equal relative importance in existence to Man and Woman and denies the right of one sex, that is the male, to make use of the other *merely* as a means to his various ends. But he is an Anti-Feminist, if Feminism is used, as by ourselves, to designate the school which on the one hand denies the essential difference of the two sexes and all its consequences, and on the other strives (though naturally in vain) for the assimilation of the secondary sex-differences, especially the psychical.† Time after time he makes his Chorus declare that men and women are and always will be *different*. Thus in the *Iphigenia in Aulis*: "The stuff of which men and

* *Op. cit.*, p. 109.
† See above, p. 4, and the Note.

women are made is diverse, and diverse are their ways of life. But what is truly good is ever clear. The differences in their rearing and education greatly influence their ideas of virtue. . . . For us women to follow the secret paths of love; for men to rule the multitude, that the State may increase and flourish."

If these sentiments, so often repeated, express the true opinion of Euripides, his view of the Woman question coincides with ours in every particular; and if, in spite of this, he is a Feminist—well, so am I!

But this period and classical antiquity as a whole can only show a single Feminist according to our definition, and this one is no less than Plato. His doctrines on the subject are to be found in the fifth chapter of the *Republic* and the seventh and eighth books of the *Laws*.

He seems to have been led to Feminism by his communistic principle, already announced in the fifth chapter of the *Republic*: "Among friends all things are in common," and the ancient conception of Woman as one of these *things*, perhaps the best and most important of them, leads very "consistently" to community of women, that is, practically speaking, in the best case to group marriage, in the worst to a sexual licentiousness unknown to primitive man even in the days of the *horde*, since it was then checked by the vigilance of the leading male. But Plato soon abandons this subject for the next, namely the question whether Woman's nature excludes her from some, or many, callings and occupations, and in particular whether she can be employed equally with Man in military service. A specimen of the arguments in the

dialogue form of the day will demonstrate the plausibility of Plato's feministic theories.

" I conclude therefore, my friend, that none of the employments connected with the government of the State belongs to Woman as Woman, or to Man as Man, but natural gifts are found here and there in both sexes; and, as far as her nature is concerned, Woman is just as suitable for all purposes as Man; *but with the qualification that she is in every way weaker than Man.**

" Precisely.

" Are we then to attribute all qualities to men and none to women?

" How could we do that?

" On the contrary, in my opinion, we must expect one woman to show a talent for medicine, another not; one woman to be musical, another unmusical—

" Undoubtedly.

" Must we not also think that one woman will be endowed with gymnastic and warlike qualities, while another is unwarlike and has no idea of gymnastics?

" I quite agree.

" And has not one a thirst for knowledge and another a distaste for it? Is not one intellectual and another dull?

" That also is true.

" But if this is so, then some women are fitted and others unfitted for offices of State. For was not our choice governed by such qualities, when we had to judge of the men's capacity for these duties?

" It was.

* Our italics.

"But then, as regards the government of the State, there is no difference in the nature of Man and Woman, but only various degrees of strength and weakness.

"No, there is evidently no other.

"Shall we not then elect duly qualified women to share in the life and public work of the duly qualified men, since we see that they are competent for such work and akin to men in their nature?"

All this might have been taken from modern Feminist propaganda, with the exception of the italicized sentence in which Plato admits that women *as a whole* are inferior to men in everything, thus virtually accepting our diagram of comparative intelligence in Chapter II, which defines and explains precisely this vital difference.

He ought then to have asked himself, *Why* take a woman for any administrative position, when there are always more men to be had who are—let us say—*far* more efficient than even the abler sort of women? But to do him justice we must admit that for Plato's Republic this objection was not so material, since his State is not the modern hyper-democratic community with equal rights for all citizens, but an oligarchy, in which a minority of free, aristocratic families rule over a majority of serfs and slaves, the labour class of those days. And in the conditions of the time, when civil wars, domestic strife and family quarrels had decimated the free citizens, killed off the best men or condemned them to inactivity and celibacy, so that the birth-rate of the biologically best qualified classes was continually on the decrease—precisely in these conditions there might be some sense in discussing whether the shrink-

ing supply of eminently capable men for the public service might not be made good by taking in the most talented of the women. Even Plato does not wish *all* the women of the community to take part with *all* the men in public life or in managing private enterprises. What he proposes is that a minority of specially chosen men and women shall rule over all the others and take the lead in politics and economics. In this his much-trumpeted Feminism is sharply distinguished from the modern kind, which, as a matter of fact, has no parallel even in the worst absurdities of former times, if we except Plato's community of women; and that was obviously a source of embarrassment to himself, especially when he had to face the question of how the children were to be brought up.

"As soon as the children are born, they are received by the official appointed for this service, whether it be a man or a woman or both; for I assume that offices of State are to be administered by men and women in common.

"Just so.

"Very well, I will suppose that these officials take the children of good parents * and place them in the public nursing institution under the care of certain nurses, who live apart in a certain quarter of the city; while the offspring of inferior parents, and all

* By "good" Plato meant specially selected, highly qualified parents. He intended to start a kind of "stock-breeding" among human beings. The first condition of this is that one must *know* who is the child's father. It is not easy to see how this would be possible with his sexual communism, as sexual connections were not to be permanent, though legal.

imperfect children born of the better kind, will be conveniently put out of the way in some secret and unknown hiding-place.

"Yes, if we are to keep the race of the Guardians pure.

"And must not the same officials watch over the upbringing of the children, by bringing the mothers to the nursing institution when their breasts are full, but taking every precaution that no mother shall recognize her own child, and by seeing that other women are provided who have milk, when the mothers have not sufficient; and must they not also be careful to limit the time during which the mothers nurse the children, and leave night watching and other infantile troubles to nurses and servants?

"You are going to make child-bearing a very easy matter for the wives of officials.

"Yes, and so it ought to be."

In Plato's opinion these human stud farms would turn out first-rate children, if only they were controlled in every way. This duty was left to a committee of women, who were to be in session for at least eight hours every day. This committee also had charge of expectant mothers, who were to be kept from all extremes of joy and sorrow, and during their pregnancy were only to follow noble occupations.

Education was divided into three periods: the first lasted till the age of three, and was conducted on the principle of *movement* alone. The second included the child's sixth year, and during this time children of the same age might amuse themselves together. After that the two sexes were separated and education proper

began. This separation is rather curious, since Plato's aim was to give the sexes an absolutely identical education, even going so far as instructing the girls in all branches of military life, from sword exercise and archery to strategy and politics. He bases this inconsistency on the natural naughtiness of boys.

"Of all creatures the Boy is the most intractable, since he has within him a source of reason as yet unregulated; he is the most artful, sharp-witted and rebellious of all beings, and must therefore be kept well in hand."

Which is the more amusing—the thoughtlessness with which the old philosopher demolishes his own previous theories of equality, or the involuntary compliment to the immortal nature of Man, whose independence asserts itself so forcibly that Plato dares not leave him with the girls even between the age of six and twelve? So far as we may judge from the *Laws*, however, he sees no difficulty in letting the two sexes come together later on, in adolescence, but expects their general sense of decency to counterbalance any tendency to inadmissible liberties. He could not foresee the reports of our Children's Welfare Councils on the results of the uncontrolled association of children and young people. But it follows undeniably from all this that the Minister of Education is the most important person in his State and receives the largest salary. It is interesting to note that he must be fifty years of age and himself be the father both of boys and girls. Every man is obliged to marry by the age of thirty-five, under penalty of fines and loss of the rights otherwise accorded to the elders.

No wonder these theories, which are just as inconsistent as they are unnatural and inhuman, provided the contemporary comedian Aristophanes with inexhaustible material for his famous plays, which smother the Platonic State with all kinds of derision, from the coarsest fun to the subtlest satire. Ridicule was as dangerous a weapon in the Athens of that time as it is, for instance, in modern Copenhagen; and if ever the employment of this too frequently abused weapon was justified, it was surely in combating Plato's sophistries. But it is not necessary to quote Aristophanes in order to confute Plato; no age before our own has taken him seriously in this connection, and we shall settle accounts with the hyper-Feminism of our day in the final chapter, so far as we have not already done so in the preceding. It only remains to give a brief review of the actual life and position of Woman during the last period before the Roman domination.

Our information is mainly derived from the lawsuits which are known through the orations preserved from this period. They give us a realistic picture so strongly contrasted with Plato's theories that the boldest imagination could scarcely have fashioned greater contradictions between life and doctrine.

In the fourth and third centuries B.C. the Attic women were still kept strictly within doors, and never appeared in public, even accompanied by their husbands. A married woman named Neæra was known to have sat at table together with her husband at the house of some friends of his, and was branded in consequence as a lost woman (which in fact she turned out to be). From the speeches of Isæus we learn that

a woman who did this could not be regarded as properly married to her husband, since no wedded wife acted in this way. The husband's right of ownership over his wife is the basis of the law of marriage; whence it follows that a husband has the right to kill any man found in the women's apartments of his house, which nearly proved fatal to the tax-gatherer Andration, when he was barefaced enough to call for his taxes in the women's room, a thing for which he was severely blamed by Demosthenes. It results from the same principle that it is a far greater crime to be the lover of a married woman than to ravish her; the first was punished with death, the second with heavy fines. This is not so strange as it appears; even to-day any real man would feel the first, which implies faithless premeditation on the woman's part, to be a greater injury and dishonour than the latter, which is a mischance, though an extremely malignant one. On the other hand, the wife had not the slightest claim to any kind of marital fidelity on the part of her husband. The story of Alcibiades, told by Plutarch, offers a striking example of this:

"His wife Hipparete is said to have been a sensible and devoted spouse, but in the end she grew very discontented with her husband's frequenting the society of hetæræ in Athens and elsewhere, and she left him and went to live with her brothers. Alcibiades continued in the same courses without troubling about his wife, but in order to obtain a legal divorce she had not merely to lodge her petition with the proper archon, but to present it to him personally; for so it was enacted by law. But when she came to fulfil

this condition, Alcibiades ran up, seized her in his arms and carried her home through the market place, without anyone daring to oppose him, much less take her from him. She remained in his house from that day until her death, which occurred not long afterwards, during Alcibiades' journey to Ephesus. The force used in this case was not thought to be at variance with either the unwritten laws of society or the written laws of the State. The provision of the Athenian law which required a wife seeking divorce to be present publicly in her own person was probably intended to give her husband an opportunity of meeting her and winning her back."

But in spite of all these barriers with which the law and public opinion had surrounded the Attic wife, she showed remarkable talent in the art of deceiving her husband, and the best judges of that period admit that by the fourth century the Greek woman had sunk far below the men, of whom, if we are to use the word in its true, manly sense, there were not many left, on account of the terrible ravages of war, politics and economic straits. And to our mind there is a connection between these phenomena of degeneration: it is impossible for women to be so deeply demoralized as they were then and are now, unless a large proportion of men are attacked by a corresponding *moral insanity ;* which often means that the society in which they live is in a state of religious, political and economic dissolution.

We shall return in the final chapter to this last problem of Feminism; here it must suffice to reject the ridiculous idea that the women became so dreadful

because they were kept in such restriction. Every man of our time knows that they are worse, if possible, when they are let loose. Here is an example of their depravity, reported by Professor Heiberg; and as examples in themselves prove nothing, we premise at once that Professor Heiberg, who at any rate has been associated with the Woman's Movement, also regards this case as typical; but for that matter the whole period teems with such scandals.

A man had caught his wife *in flagranti*, and severely mauled her lover. In the law-suit which was brought against him, though he had only used his lawful rights, he presented his case to the judges as follows:

"When I had determined to marry and brought home a wife I treated her at first in such a way as neither to watch her too narrowly nor to leave her entirely to her own devices, but I kept an eye on her as far as possible, as was right and proper. But when a son was born to me I placed full confidence in her and gave her the direction of all my property, thinking that a child was the best bond between man and woman.

"And at first I had nothing to complain of: she was a good housekeeper, extremely thrifty and accurate. But when my mother died, her death brought all kinds of misfortunes upon me. For as my wife accompanied me to the funeral, this person (the lover) caught sight of her and finally succeeded in seducing her. His plan was to watch for the maid as she went to market and to talk her over.

"Now, my lords—for I must tell you of my circumstances—I own a two-storeyed house with men's and

women's quarters on both floors. After our little boy was born his mother nursed him, and to avoid her running any risk in going downstairs to the bath, I occupied the upper storey and the women the lower; and it became the custom that my wife often slept downstairs with the boy, to give him suck and keep him quiet. We went on in this way for some time, and I never suspected anything, but was simple enough to believe my wife was the most honest woman in the whole city.

" But a little later I came home one day unexpectedly from the country, and when we had had supper the boy started screaming and was restless, as the maid was teasing him on purpose; the truth was, the lover was there, as I found out afterwards. Then I told my wife she had better go down and nurse the boy to stop the noise. At first she refused; she was too glad to have me back after such a long time. But when I was annoyed and said she must, she replied: ' Perhaps you want to entice the maid up here; you have already been after her once when you were drunk.' Then I laughed, and she got up and went, but locked the door behind her as though in jest. And I, thinking nothing of it and having no suspicion, was glad to get my sleep, being tired after my journey. When it was nearly daylight, she came back and opened the door, and on my asking why the front-door had been opened during the night, she replied that the lamp in the boy's room had gone out and she had sent next door for a light. I said nothing to this and believed it was true. I certainly thought it strange that her face was made up, though her brother had scarcely been dead

a month; but I did not allude to it and went out without saying anything."

Another married woman, whom the same lover had abandoned, opened the husband's eyes and denounced the guilty party, whom the husband then caught in the act and chastised.

Professor Heiberg makes the following legitimate comment: "This little story betrays a practised impudence so thoroughgoing as to afford evidence of widespread corruption." It even went so far that many of these women more or less openly flaunted their shame, and yet were lucky enough to capture distinguished men for their husbands. Then as now the husbands were evidently the ones who knew least of their own wives' life and character. There was Phanoe and her mother Neæra, already referred to, both equally vicious. The former married an Athenian citizen, the latter the King Archon himself, the supreme head of Athenian religion; much the same as if one of our bishops were married to a retired brothel-keeper, and the speeches of Demosthenes are our warrant for the truth of the story. In an oration of Hyperides "Against Athenogenas" we hear of the beautiful Antigona, who successfully combined the trade of courtesan with the rôle of matrimonial agent. The speeches of Isæus give us a series of similar pictures, all of which show that when the women in a community are once attacked by corruption, they fall lower than the basest wretch among the men. And for their inability to raise themselves again we have the word of Polybius in his description of the state of things in the third century, and Juvenal's satires in

the succeeding period. The renovation came from an uncorrupted primitive people, such as the Goths and Germans at any rate were at that time.

And yet in the midst of all this moral eclipse one bright star shines out, in the unique, all-embracing, all-comprehending genius of Aristotle, who, unaffected alike by the actual depravity of the age and by Plato's ideological fantasies, as far from treating Woman as a slave as from giving her unwarrantable licence, steers his own course among all extremes, faithful alike to life and to his own philosophical principle, that true virtue, nay, truth itself, is always to be found in moderation and the golden mean. We have already seen in Chapter I how he is perfectly clear, like every deeper nature, about the biological and human inferiority of Woman relatively to Man, but it never occurs to him, any more than to any other man, that she is to be badly treated on this account. On the contrary, we might rather say, she is entitled to claim all the more consideration; and as a matter of fact it is on this principle that the white man has built up all the later development and extension of his matrimonial relations with her, until in our day the principle has been stretched to such a point as to make the married man actually the woman's slave, a state of things even worse than its opposite in earlier ages; since, if it is wrong for the strong to be master of the weak, then it is perverse for the weak to be master of the strong.

Aristotle knew this better than anyone before him, but unfortunately his doctrine, which formed the basis of the medieval Catholic regulation, sensible on the

whole, of the duties and competence of both parties in matrimony, has been lost sight of, more especially in the present regrettable neglect of classical and humanistic studies.

Aristotle deals with the question of sex-characters both in the *Ethica* and in *De Generatione animalium*, and we shall here call attention to his chief points, without, however, following the train of his argument.

"An animal is either male or female in virtue of an isolated part (of its body) or a single quality; if that which distinguishes male from female suffers alteration, this change is accompanied by many others, as would be the case (in the realm of thought) if there were a change of premises." *

"The male and the female are distinguished in their nature by each having their peculiar powers or abilities; and anatomically in certain parts: it is essentially the male who has the power of creating something in another, and the female who is able to create in herself, and thus the offspring is brought into the world which previously existed in the parents." †

"The female is female in virtue of a certain incapacity. The females are weaker and cooler by nature than the males, and we must regard the female character as a kind of natural defectiveness.‡ Traces of these various characteristics are more or less visible in every species (Aristotle is thinking, like ourselves, more especially of the higher, warm-blooded animals), but especially where the character is most pronounced,

* *De Generatione animalium*, 716, b. 10. As will be seen, a brilliant anticipation of the modern theory of hormones, as also in another connection Thomas Aquinas; cf. p. 158, note.

† *Ibid.*, 716, a. 18. ‡ *Ibid.*, 728, a.

and most of all in the human race. It is a fact that Man is by nature the most harmonious and perfect, and consequently the qualities we have spoken of are brought to perfection in him. For this reason Woman is more compassionate than Man, more ready to weep, but at the same time more jealous, more querulous, more inclined to abuse. In addition she is an easier prey to despair and less sanguine than Man, more shameless and less jealous of honour, more untruthful, easier disappointed and has a longer memory. She is likewise more cautious, more timid, more difficult to urge into action, and she requires a smaller quantity of food." *

"A husband and father rules over wife and children, who are all free (*i.e.*, not slaves), but the quality of his rule varies: with the children it is absolute, with the wife constitutional. For even though there may be exceptions to the order of nature, the male is by nature more fitted to command than the female, just as the older and fully grown are superior to the younger and immature." †

"The ruler must possess complete ethical force; the ruled needs only such a measure of virtues as is fitting for him (or her). Virtue is common to men and women, but it is not the same virtue: for instance, Man shows his spirit in commanding, Woman hers by obeying."

"It is obvious why mothers have more love for their children than fathers. The general function of animals is to produce offspring. In other animals mating is limited to this; but men and women are joined together not merely to produce children, but for the purposes of life. As soon as they are joined

* *De animalibus historia*, 608, b. † *Ibid.*, 730.

together, a division of functions takes place. Some tasks are suitable for the master of the house, others for the wife; therefore they supply each other's needs, each contributing to the common welfare. Utility and pleasure seem to be found in the same degree in matrimonial relations, but the basis must nevertheless be the virtues. Children are a bond of union, and childless marriages are dissolved with comparatively little difficulty." *

"There is another kind of friendship or affection, which rests on superiority; the father's friendship or affection for his son, the husband's for his wife, the ruler's for his subject. These friendships are of different kinds; the affection of the master of the house for his wife is not the same as hers for him. There are different virtues in each of them, different cares, different motives. From this it follows that the services each party renders to the other are not alike and cannot be expected to be so. In every friendship of this sort, which depends on the principle of superiority, devotion must be in proportion to superiority; that is, the one who is the better, or the more useful, or the superior must receive (has a right to) more devotion than he himself gives." †

* *Ethica*, Bk. VIII, 8; p. 1158 b.

† *Ibid.* Wright, to whom, of course, Aristotle is a thorn in the flesh, does admit that he is almost infallible as an *observer*, and that women *at that time*, in ancient Greece, may have been as (naturally) inferior to men as Aristotle thinks; but *nowadays* it is another matter! This, of course, disposes of Wright, since the most certain of all human truths is that men and women two thousand five hundred years ago were precisely as they are to-day, and if a thinker two thousand five hundred years hence were to read, for instance, this book, he would declare with the same sigh of satisfaction as ourselves, "Just the same with us."

Only the last of these principles may seem to go beyond what every sane man and uncorrupted woman in our day will approve, for it implies that Woman's respect for and devotion to Man must be (still) greater than his for her. Our personal belief is that this is right, and that the marriages which comply with the demands of Aristotle's Ethics are the most harmonious in every respect. I have never yet found a woman who could love a man fully, unless she felt a certain fear of him and of losing him; but I have known many who despised and bullied the husband, because they knew he loved them more than they him. Aristotle, however, does not avail himself of this argument. To him the above principle of friendship and devotion is a part of his general doctrine of " relative similarity." Human beings differ, Man and Woman differ still more; *when each one has received his due* according to his nature and abilities (*suum cuique*), then, although one may be awarded tenfold, another a hundredfold, *each will nevertheless have received an equal share.* And this is a principle which our age, democratized to the point of imbecility, would do well to ponder over—it has always stood the test of facts and it will triumph again and again all along the line, so long as this world exists.

CHAPTER VI

THE WOMAN QUESTION IN THE MIDDLE AGES

While the Woman Question in classical antiquity was for the most part of a domestic nature and more a subject for problem plays than for legislative enactments—which we only meet with in the decadent period of Roman history (especially dealing with the avoidance of marriage and the falling-off of the birth-rate)—in the middle ages it was almost exclusively a problem of population, that is, of subsistence, and as such it claimed the close attention of medieval authorities. We hear nothing of any sort of Feminist discussion in the modern sense; such a thing was out of the question, since throughout the whole of the middle ages a woman was, legally at least, as dependent on her father, husband or other guardian as in antiquity, and personally she received, if anything, less consideration, in agreement with what has been said above as to the Catholic Church's view of Woman as a second-rate being. In any case, the middle ages were very careful not to give her any kind of authority, much less power, beyond her narrow housekeeping sphere, within which, on the other hand, she enjoyed full esteem.

But the middle ages nevertheless showed every regard for Woman, in so far as she was not already protected

by a male relative, and took better care of her, as the weaker part, than any previous age had done. And here the men of the middle ages were faced with problems greater even than those of our time, and grappled with them indefatigably, though the means and expedients at their disposal were relatively far more limited than now. The principal reason for the Woman Question of those days was that the disproportion between the numbers of men and women—that is, the excess of women—was, to judge from the available statistics (admittedly very imperfect), greater than it has ever been in recent times, even including this after-war period, with its losses of millions of men. The most favourable figures we possess, naturally relating mainly to the towns, show a proportion of 110 to 100 between the female and the male population (Frankfort-on-Main at the close of the fourteenth century); * the least favourable 125 to 100, and the excess of women, especially of grown-up, marriageable age, seems quite commonly to have amounted to 20 per cent. (120 to 100).

Nowadays the proportion is generally 105 to 100, that is, the women exceed the men by 5 per cent. in most European States. Even in those countries which have suffered most from the War, such as Germany and France, the surplus of women has not risen above 10 per cent. Russia shows an exception with 116 women to 100 men, but even these unfavourable figures do not reach what was usual, at any rate in

* Karl Bücher, *Entstehung der Volkswirtschaft*, and *Die Frauenfrage im Mittelalter*. Tübingen, 1910. New edition in *Beiträge zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, p. 259. Tübingen, 1922.

the towns of the middle ages. Of the country districts we know next to nothing, but if we consider the *causes* which account for the men being in an unusually narrow minority, we may assume that these causes were relatively fewer than now, when we often find an artificial excess of men on the land, because the women are even more inclined than the men to resort to the great towns, with their apparently easier and in any case more varied chances of employment, particularly for women. These causes fall in the main into three groups. The first group comprises the far greater risks for men involved by the frequent wars and feuds of that time, as well as the lack of public security, particularly on journeys, which then involved far greater personal and *technical* risk, especially at sea,* than now.

The second group of causes depends in part on the higher "natural" mortality † of men during the frequent epidemics of plague in the middle ages, in part on an excessive mortality largely due to the far harder *bodily* work which the handicraft of that time, in default of machine tools and mechanical power, demanded of its men.‡

* For instance, the first Danish lighthouse was not erected till 1582 (on the island of Anholt; the second was at The Skaw, now there are over 200), and it was only under Christian IV that Jens Sörensen made the first sketches of channels which may be called charts, though, of course, they cannot be compared for usefulness with those of the present day.

† See above, Chapter II, p. 41.

‡ We get some idea of this from the regulations of the old guilds and their labour conflicts, from which we learn that the medieval journeymen often had a working day of from 4 a.m. to 7 or 8 p.m., and yet they grumbled not so much at their work as at the originally narrow restrictions imposed on them in their

As a third cause we may mention the violent behaviour of the men and their intemperance in all enjoyments, especially in the use of alcohol.* We are not sure, however, that this lack of moderation—though it certainly increases mortality—was on the whole much greater then than now; besides which, there are many signs that a large proportion of the women of the later middle ages were by no means backward in this respect, as we shall see below. And indeed the two first groups of causes are sufficient to explain the surplus of women of which we are speaking.†

Let us first endeavour, with the help of an example of which we have accurate knowledge, to get an idea of what this excess of women meant in the life of that time. One of the greatest and wealthiest of medieval cities, Frankfort-on-Main, had about the year 1400 some 10,000 inhabitants, of whom roughly 4600 were men and 5400 women; that is, an excess of 800 women, quite half of them grown up. Such of these 400 marriageable women as did not find protection and employment in other families presented a very serious social problem for so small a community, all the more as some 200 of the male population of Frank-

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leisure. It was only late in the middle ages that journeymen were allowed their own places of meeting, tap-rooms and so on. See further Bücher's essay, "Zur Arbeiterfrage im Mittelalter," in *Beiträge zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, pp. 245–258.

* Bücher, *Die Frauenfrage im Mittelalter*, Tübingen, 1910.

† It will be asked why the same causes did not produce a similar surplus of women in antiquity, and the answer has already been given (Chapter IV), namely that the proportions were usually adjusted in antiquity and right down to medieval times, either by killing off some of the new-born females, as is done to-day among many primitive peoples, or by permitting polygyny in one form or another.

fort were monks and therefore not to be reckoned among the male breadwinners; so that the surplus of marriageable women can scarcely be put at less than 20 per cent. of the corresponding male population.* In agreement herewith, we see from the Frankfort taxation lists from 1354 to 1510 that the number of independently assessed women always forms at least a seventh part, often a fifth and at the highest a quarter of all taxpayers. We shall see below how this large number of surplus women found employment, domicile and protection.

It is clear, to begin with, that the household of that day offered many more chances of female employment than is the case now, when most of the things which were then made or prepared at home can be bought outside. A similar state of things, when, for instance, the wife's unmarried sister or the grown-up daughters worked all their lives in the household of the husband or father, or in any case were provided for there, was known even in the days of our grandparents. These unmarried women, dependent on the rest of the family, have in fact provided a welcome source of agitation for the Feminism of our time, according to which they led a degrading and humiliating existence. Pity and ridicule have been lavished on the poor aunts, who are supposed to have been just tolerated in the house by their sister's husband, in contradistinction to the free, self-supporting woman of the present day who dictates her own conditions to the brother-in-law as

* To this must be added the prohibition widely prevalent of journeymen's marrying before their thirty-fifth year. The effect of this on the marriage market cannot, however, be determined, all the more as such prohibitions evidently were often disregarded.

to other men. The truth is that the "Auntie" of a bygone day as a rule fulfilled a great cultural and educative mission among the younger female generation in particular, who confided in her and conformed to her and her advice quite as much as to their mother, who usually brings up her own children much worse than other people's; * whereas the self-supporting aunts and cousins of the present day are often the ones who lead their nieces into the paths of extravagance, frivolity and mistaken freedom, which lead to many things, but hardly ever to what is of most importance to a woman, the only lasting good: a husband who respects himself and her.

But whereas in recent times the surplus of women was seldom so great that it could not be largely met by adoption into other homes, in the middle ages it was too serious to be disposed of in this way alone. And as the chief road to self-support, through the guilds, was barred on principle to women, we can understand the necessity of special measures for providing women with protection and opportunities of work.

We must, however, first remark that, although most of the old trade regulations make the male sex an absolute condition of admission to the guild, and consequently of following the trade,† there were nevertheless many loopholes in these rules through which women could slip in and work more or less inde-

* See Chapter III, conclusion.

† A contributing factor was the view that travel (*Wanderjahre*) was necessary to complete the training of a proper journeyman. But, as old Adrian Beier says: "The maid who had travelled would be just as ill thought of by the journeyman, as the journeyman who had not travelled would be by the maid." Quoted from Bücher, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

pendently at their husbands' occupation. We are not thinking here of the well-known custom which allowed the widow of the master to remain the proprietress of the concern, especially if she married a journeyman of the same craft, but of the many trades, whether controlled by guilds or not, in which women worked either as wage-earners or independently. In most countries of Europe a number of cases of this kind are known. We shall here only mention one or two examples, taken from Karl Bücher's already quoted book, *Die Frauenfrage im Mittelalter*, which is the leading authority on the subject and is based on a comprehensive survey of contemporary documents.

The most important trades in which we already find women engaged in considerable numbers in the middle ages are woollen weaving, linen weaving, braiding, to some extent tailoring (including cutting), fur-dressing (and tanning), baking, leather-cutting and armorial embroidery, goldsmith's work and gold-spinning. To these must be added a number of trades which were not subject to regulation and were thus open to women. Here we find women represented in marketing, huckstering, as dealers in frippery, as bath attendants (between thirty and forty women were employed in the baths of Frankfort), in copying and as musicians in the taverns. We find women in the service of the municipality itself, as nurses, naturally enough, but also as porters, gaolers, in the excise, in money-changing and in herding. Even women doctors are not of rare occurrence at the time; some of them were granted remittance of taxes and honourable distinctions for curing persons in authority. Finally, in those troubled times, when there were few means of

finding out the intentions of hostile armies or predatory bands, we not infrequently find women in the intelligence service, that is as spies,* just like the many female spies who were employed in the Great War, especially as decoys for foreign officers. There is nothing new under the sun. Bücher has examined all the trades in Frankfort in which women were employed, from the year 1320 to 1500, and found sixty-five with exclusively women's names, forty-five with as many or more women than men, and eighty-one with fewer women than men; a total of about 200 employments in which women could find work and earnings, which, to be sure, were far below those of the men—of an equal wage there was no question. Even if conditions in this ancient free Imperial city were specially favourable to independent female industry, we have enough information to show that in the middle ages Woman was by no means thrust aside by Man in those trades of which she was capable,† and while nowadays the self-supporting woman has to be satisfied, as far as the great majority is concerned, with subordinate wage-work, the women of the middle ages were *independent* in a relatively greater number of trades than now; that is, they occupied the position of master, and in several trades even formed guilds of their own, as in woollen weaving, linen weaving, yarn-spinning and tailoring. In spite of the constitutions of the guilds, we also find many exceptions permitting female masters to keep journeymen and maids.

* Bücher, *Beiträge zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 1922, p. 269.

† According to the rule, which also applied to men, that no one could be admitted to a guild unless he was able *with his own hands* to execute *all* the work involved in his trade.

If in the face of these facts we also find many instances of the medieval city authorities keeping a jealous watch on female industry, and often, as a rule on the complaint of male masters, forbidding or limiting women's admission to certain callings, these restrictions were usually explained by the very natural object of preventing unemployment among male tradesmen to the detriment of their own wives, since society would gain nothing thereby. We must here remind the reader that the whole industrial policy of those days lay in strictly controlling *all* access, for men first of all, to the various trades, and that care was taken, with considerable success, that no one was privileged to follow a craft or to employ journeymen beyond what appeared to be the local needs, easily ascertainable in those days of small communities.*

* That such limitation of access was at all practicable was again due to the fact that throughout the greater part of the middle ages the population of most European countries was almost stationary or increased very slowly. The general mortality was high, infantile mortality was sometimes artificially raised, especially in the poorest classes (" overlain " is a remarkably frequent cause of death among little children), and the marriage age was rather late, while migration, especially from the country to the towns, was of minor importance. Only with the liberation of the peasant class, the general introduction of peasant proprietorship, greater freedom of inheritance and freedom of movement for the younger generation, did the surplus population of the country—increased by better hygiene—begin to swell the town communities. Thus it is modern rural conditions and decreased mortality, combined with the industrial revolution, that have created the difficult social questions of recent times, not industrial changes alone, as many people believe. Guldberg was therefore right in his objection to the Danish agricultural reforms of 1781 and 1788: " The peasant's yoke cannot be thrown off without the State being shaken to its foundations "; but the reformers were even more right, since there was no way out of it.

Numerous as these chances of female employment may now appear to be, they by no means covered the surplus female population of the middle ages. It must be remembered that each of these occupations, each of these trades, with the primitive technical methods of the time could only afford employment for one or two assistants, and that not all these woman's occupations were possible in the same place and at the same time, even in comparatively large city communities. There was therefore a considerable surplus of widows and female orphans, and this surplus varied greatly within short periods, owing to violent, though short-lived epidemics, and frequent, though not always very sanguinary, wars and feuds. This surplus was to some extent absorbed, as everyone knows, by the nunneries, the number of which greatly increased in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, though without ever rivalling the monasteries in extent or importance. There was, then, a need of other, less claustral and more secular homes for the reception, protection and employment of single women, and many such were founded during the greater part of the middle ages and endowed with funds which appear to us surprisingly generous, when we consider the economic and technical limitations of that time.

Moreover, with all the simple way of life of that day and its modest demands in the matter of luxury and amusement, not a few men left property sufficient to assure their widows and unmarried daughters a decent existence, if the capital were wisely invested. And for this there was then good opportunity. It was very common to buy oneself a kind of pension by placing

one's fortune in the hands of a convent or a municipality and receiving in return an assured income to the day of one's death. This form corresponds, as will be seen, to the modern purchase of an annuity. Again, we often find unattached women combining to keep house together, which they were able to do in common with means that would have been insufficient separately. In many places such voluntary associations developed into sisterhoods with fixed statutes which regulated the mutual activities and financial relations of the members. Such statutes became very general in the fifteenth century, by which time these sisterhoods had degenerated in various ways, and thus required contracts and rules which were uncalled for in earlier days, when they were usually based on kinship or religious association. Rulman Merswin therefore writes in 1355 of these women: "Thus they were right quiet, simple-minded, kind-hearted women, and possessed great, simple inward earnestness, so that God ever visited them with His grace." *

Other provisions had to be made, however, for single women entirely without means, and in the course of the thirteenth century certain institutions came to be founded, especially in Germany, which were known by the name of "God's houses" (*not* convents, admission to which as a rule involved a fairly large payment) and "beguinages." These were homes for a fixed number of poor, orphaned or friendless women, and they were supported by contributions and legacies left by wealthy laymen and women for this purpose. An

* Norrenberg, *Frauenarbeit und Arbeiterinnen-Erziehung in deutscher Vorzeit*, Cologne, 1880, p. 63, quoted in Bücher, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

impulse was given to the foundation of these beguinages by the frightful losses among the populations of Western Europe due to the Crusades and the wars between England and France, especially in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. These homes contained sometimes only two or three inmates, sometimes a dozen or two, and in order to give the reader an idea of their practical significance in regulating the great excess of women, we shall, for the sake of convenience, again take Frankfort, which at the close of the fourteenth century possessed fifty-seven beguinages (3 per cent. of the total dwelling-houses in the city) with a total of 200 female inmates, or about 7 per cent. of the adult female population; that is, about a third part of the city's surplus of women. Even more ample was the provision of God's houses in Strassburg with 600 inmates, and Cologne with 2000. Similar conditions existed in Belgium, Holland and elsewhere.*

Now these beguines lived, as we have said, principally on funds with which the founder had endowed the God's houses for this purpose, but it was not the intention that the sisters should pass their time in idleness, and many of their occupations were able to produce some profit, so that we soon find a good many beguinages bringing their products to market.

With the strict regulation of industry under the prevailing guild system, this naturally did not take place without some friction between the beguinages and the guilds, and we find frequent litigation in the middle ages, resulting now in the beguines being allowed certain industrial and commercial privileges,

* Bücher, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

now in their being confined to more or less purely feminine employments in consideration of the guilds' economic and technical interests. These employments included in particular nursing of the sick, care of the poor, assistance of every kind at funerals, as well as the care and education of children and public worship.

With all the weight attached in the middle ages to religion and the religious frame of mind as the source of all true humanity and all social work, the Church as such had no influence on the beguinages or their inmates. They remained always secular institutions, whose members were admitted either by the will of the founder or by election among the sisters, and could leave at any time, not infrequently through marriage. Expulsion could only take place owing to bad conduct, such as disobedience, quarrelsomeness, idleness or commerce with men; but expulsion was seldom in the power of the other sisters or even of the matron, and required male sanction, either by the guardian of the house or its father confessor. We have intimate descriptions of the life of these small female communities, which in their best period seem to have exercised a beneficent activity both internally and externally. As to this, however, we must refer those interested to the special literature, which is to be found in Bücher's already quoted work,* while here we must pay more attention to the decadence of these institutions as we approach the Reformation period.

This decadence is associated with the *moral* debilitation which we meet with in every socially degenerating

* Note especially the model statutes of a Frankfort God's house, printed in Bücher, *op. cit.*, p. 278, note 3.

culture: a weakening of the inner religious feeling, and a degeneration or actual perversion of the relations between the sexes, such as occurs in all communities where, from social or other reasons, there exists a great number of unattached women without sufficient male authority or control. The evil was particularly apparent in the beguinages, which had gradually grown so rich that the sisters had no need to do anything. The whole history of the world shows that without hard work under a secular authority, in association with true religious feeling, every human community tends to degenerate, and in particular every community of women. And thus we find the richer beguinages departing in the most barefaced way from their original objects, just as nowadays the worst extravagances of Feminism are chiefly found among the well-to-do wives and daughters of the leisured bourgeoisie. "We may imagine," says Bücher (*op. cit.*, p. 280), "the consequences of this close association of women for the most part uncultivated, lacking any higher aims, but safely provided for, and in some cases still in their youth." Soon we see a good many of the once so demure and devout beguines frequenting every place where there was dancing, drinking, merrymaking, buffoonery and all the fun of the fair—"wherever there was anything to stare at, any enjoyment, dancing, tumbling and singing; and they did not come forward as the guardians of good behaviour, but as the most dissolute among the lax, and often as the leaders of the gaiety." * Finally we find several beguines as more or less secret

* Bücher, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

prostitutes, and in public documents at Frankfort they are mentioned at last in the same breath with the worst sort of hussies. Our own age has no need to be shocked at the moral decline of the beguinages during the later middle ages, after witnessing the way in which many upper-class women especially, who scarcely a hundred years ago were an ornament to their class and in their quiet way an important cultural force, abuse, under irreligious and Feminist influence, the freedom and equality they have won, in licentiousness of every kind (even such, as I was told as long ago as 1914 by a Copenhagen editor, as no paid prostitute could be induced to indulge in).

Closely allied with these scandals is another female category, the vagabond women of the middle ages, who, at any rate towards the close of the period, were almost as numerous as the itinerant journeymen.

Even in the time of the Crusades the Christian armies were accompanied by numerous women and even children, and in 1180 St. Louis himself had to put up with 1500 of these women with his crusading army, where they gave him a deal of trouble, even though there were many good elements among them and many with perfectly honourable reasons for their presence. On the assembling of the Imperial diet at Frankfort in 1394 the city was visited by 800 itinerant women, temporarily increasing the adult female population by 25 per cent.; and at the Church Councils of Constance and Basle their number is said to have been about double this. In such cases these vagabond women had to be organized and controlled. At Basle this duty devolved on the Duke of Saxony as marshal

of the Empire. He had the bright idea of taking a census of them, but had to give it up when halfway through as too difficult a task.

If these vagabond women could appear in such numbers on peaceful occasions, it need not surprise us to find them in the campaigns of the middle ages—for Mars and Venus have been associated in all ages and all nations. In the wars between France and England we meet with them by the hundred in the baggage-train of the army, and they were put in charge of a special bailiff, who levied a weekly contribution on them. This women's bailiff soon became a regular appointment in the armies of the time. On his celebrated campaign against Holland the Duke of Alba had no fewer than 1200 loose women with him, of whom 400 were mounted and 800 on foot, divided into companies in military fashion, each with its standards. Höyer tells us in his "History of the Art of War" * that each of them took precedence according to her beauty and her lover's rank and position, and that breaches of this etiquette were punished, as was, of course, necessary, to avoid rivalries among so many women.

Anyone who is scandalized at such phenomena and regards them as belonging to a rude and barbaric age, should study the organization of women's service in the European armies during the Great War and after (*e.g.*, during the occupation of the Ruhr). He will then find that, if the medieval armies had their women in hundreds, those of the present day had them in thousands; then as now they were, of course,

* Vol. I, p. 38, quoted in Bücher, *op. cit.*, p. 285.

recruited voluntarily, and there was always a superfluity of them.* Unfortunately the General Staffs concerned have not published the relevant material, though in expert hands it might prove a most valuable contribution to the elucidation of the Woman Question in our century.† There is only this difference, that in the middle ages they called things by their right names, while now we suffer from "the misplaced prudery which often prevents an unprejudiced discussion of this doubtless very ticklish subject." ‡ In the middle ages they describe and discuss all these matters with great seriousness and do their best to keep the attendant evils within bounds. Moreover a great number of these women were permanently attached to some soldier in the camp, sometimes even married to him, and they often distinguished themselves by their courage and self-sacrifice, both during and after the battle,§ even if they were fairly quick to console

* When, during the first Balkan War, I visited in 1912 even so remote a theatre as Montenegro, I was surprised to notice demi-mondaines actually from Paris in the hotels, which could hardly find room for the crowds of officers and soldiers. To my astonished questions, my companion, the Finnish-Russian Colonel Biaudet (who died in Rome in the following year), replied: "My dear Doctor, are you still so naïf at thirty-three? I have been in eleven Russian campaigns, in Manchuria and Korea, in Turkestan, Siberia, China and the Caucasus. I have suffered hunger and thirst, heat and cold; we have often been short of clothes and boots, cartridges, arms and all kinds of equipment; but never yet have I known a campaign where we were short of women!"

† The only public reference to the subject that I know of is in *Det nye Nord* for May 1924, by the biologist, Dr. J. Mjöen.

‡ Bücher, *Die Frauenfrage im Mittelalter*, *l.c.*, p. 288.

§ After the siege, bombardment and capture of Port Arthur by the Japanese in 1903–1904 the chief of the local Red Cross, a Russian Baroness, gave a description of the behaviour of the nurses in her charge. In spite of her natural aversion to the

themselves with another if their lover had fallen, as we hear in the folk-song of the women after the battle:

> " The faithful women to lament were fain
> As they searched out their men amongst the slain.
> And each whose lad lay lifeless on the ground
> Durst not be seen to laugh for very shame—
> Till she'd another found." *

Even the regular prostitutes were not treated in the middle ages in a degrading or contemptuous way: they were regarded, as Bücher says, rather as unfortunate, frivolous and misled creatures than as vicious persons, and were accepted as a necessary evil, which in any case warded off greater ills. According to Bücher, a man was not disgraced at that time for frequenting them, nor for keeping a concubine. For the sake of order and decency, it was attempted to collect the women of the town into houses, which as a rule were established by the town council or even by the Government of the country, and the often ample revenues from these houses either went direct into the municipal treasury or were farmed out to persons of standing, among whom we find both ecclesiastics and noblemen. *Non olet?* But there were strict rules to protect the girls against extortion, and all offences committed on their premises were punished with double severity, though in general the laws of those times did not treat even petty crimes with any great

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numerous hangers-on in Port Arthur, she could not help acknowledging that when at last the shells began to burst over and in the hospitals, most of the " honest " nurses ran away one after another; only the " fallen " women stayed with her to the last, tending the sick and wounded in continual danger of their lives. (Quoted from the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 1905.)

* Quoted from Bücher, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

leniency. Furthermore we find provisions for securing freedom of movement and churchgoing for these women; sometimes baths were provided for them, and they were given some sort of employment. Thus at Ulm they had to spin a certain measure of yarn daily or pay three heller; the keeper of the house had to add double this amount, and the money thus collected was applied to the relief of sick and unemployed members of their profession. It may seem strange to add that they enjoyed a monopoly of their calling and watched very closely that no private prostitution took the bread out of their mouths, by such competition as that of the degenerate beguines, already referred to. The difference in the social position of prostitutes then and now is made very clear when we are told that these women were invited to all public functions and were there represented equally with the rest of the elaborately graded and enrolled population. They were also allowed to be present at many of the festivities of the freemen and the worshipful town council, when they sang and danced and presented bouquets and congratulations, and in return were well entertained or received gifts of money. When royal personages passed through the town the brothels were festally garlanded and illuminated, and sometimes the girls were given new clothes at the expense of the town. As late as 1516 it was the custom in Zurich for the mayor, the sheriff and the women of the town to dine with the foreign ambassadors who visited the place! * We may hold up our hands as much as we please at this; the fact is that the

* Bücher, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

middle ages, at any rate from the twelfth to the fifteenth century, kept these things well in hand, so that only a small number of women were thus engaged, even measured by the population of that time. In most towns there were two or three of these women's houses, and as fifteen is the greatest number of inmates we find in them, this gives at the most twenty to thirty public prostitutes in a medieval town of 8000 to 9000 inhabitants, or not more than three per thousand. In Copenhagen, on the abolition of public prostitution in 1906, there were 719 registered women in a town of rather over 400,000, or two per thousand; but even at that time secret prostitution amounted to double these figures. Another factor is that in the middle ages many efforts were made, especially by the clergy, to assist these women to a better way of life. As early as 1225 we read of a priest in Germany, Rudolf by name, who converted some of these women and collected them in a regular beguinage. Others made him the reply: "Sir, we are poor and weak; we cannot support ourselves in any other way; give us bread and water and we will gladly obey you." Two years later he obtained a Papal letter promising that all women converted by him to an honest life should be admitted to the Order of St. Mary Magdalene under the name of "the Penitents." In 1246 Pope Gregory IX gave this Order the right to build convents, which were soon erected in many German towns. However, only such women as had shown by their whole behaviour that they had seriously turned their backs on vice were permitted to take conventual vows and thus become regular nuns; but cases did occur.

The initiative of the Church was soon zealously supported by many citizens, especially by the foundation of rescue homes, which in many respects were regulated on the same lines as the beguinages. It would take us too far to describe all the medieval provisions for the care of fallen women; we shall merely quote the words in which Bishop Johann von Dirpheim confirmed a Magdalene community at Strassburg in 1309:

"When slaves are restored to liberty, they obtain all the rights of free men; it would therefore be unreasonable if women, who have been the slaves of sin, should not be treated in the same way, as soon as they are converted to a better way of life." *

Bishop Johann therefore took them into his care, declared them free from any stain and forbad anyone to refer to their former state. We often meet with the philanthropic trait that all abuse or insults addressed to the female penitents were punished with peculiar severity: nothing can be worse or more of an obstacle to those who have offended against the laws of society than constantly to be reminded of the fact, even when the reformed person is doing all in his or her power to cause the past to be forgotten.†

* Bücher, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

† Such detestable malevolence is so far from being punishable nowadays that not long ago (in 1924) we were compelled to witness a case in Copenhagen of a man who went and hanged himself because his long-expiated crime (safe robberies) was "immortalized" in a revue song, which his fellow-workmen were fond of singing in his hearing. We are also reminded of the thoughtless way in which a portion of the Danish Press reprints even the details of crimes at the very moment when their authors are released from prison. This shows how far we are behind the middle ages in true philanthropy and kindness.

On the other hand, short work was made of women who, in spite of all efforts to aid them, relapsed into their former mode of life: they were just drowned. And great caution had often to be exercised in granting admission, since the difficulties of unattached women were so great, and the attraction of the peaceful and assured life in the rescue homes was so strong, that a good many young women got themselves seduced and led an unchaste life for a while simply to be eligible for one of these homes. Bishop Simon of Champigny, in drawing up the statutes of a home for Magdalenes in Paris in the year 1397, insisted that those seeking admission should first make a solemn oath on their hope of salvation that they had not become harlots merely to gain admission to the institution. In Germany such temptations to an immoral life were obviated in a contrary way: they made a point of accepting even girls of spotless reputation into the homes, so that no one was obliged first to sin in order to enjoy their advantages.*

Anyone who with an open mind makes himself acquainted with the circumstances of that time, on which we have only had space to throw a glimmer of light, will agree with Karl Bücher in the remarks with which he concludes the account of which we have here made use:

"The middle ages too had their Woman Question, and attempted to solve it. And this medieval woman's problem was far more difficult; it embraced far larger classes of the population than what we usually now understand by this catch-word. How slight, how insignificant in comparison to the wholesale misery

* Bücher, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

of the medieval woman must the sufferings appear for which the modern Woman's Movement tries to bring relief!

"And yet, when we compare our conditions with those of the middle ages, our resources with those of that rude time, so poor in comforts—have we just cause for boasting? Is the existence of our factory girls and shop assistants any pleasanter than the lot of the wives and daughters of masters, who helped their husbands and fathers at their trade, or even than that of the spinning girls and wool-combers, whose conditions of labour were regulated by custom and law? Have we any institutions that in the purity and directness of their objects can compare with the beguinages, the co-operative households, the Magdalene homes and the convents of Penitents? Has the position of 'vagabond women' in society improved?

"True, the middle ages did not conduct their Woman Question to any final solution. They *could* not solve it exhaustively, because they were unable to stop the sources from which the evil was renewed with constant repetition. But the institutions they created nevertheless fulfilled for centuries the demands of an age of which we have no right to ask more than its means rendered possible. Absolute solutions of social problems are only to be looked for in Utopia. We of the world of reality must be content if our creations are sufficient only for one or a few generations. By all means let posterity mercilessly pull them down, *as soon as it has something better to put in their place.*"

The last sentence, italicized by us, contains the whole problem of the modern Woman's Movement. Before passing on to it we have only, for the sake of com-

pleteness, to glance at the forces which at the close of the middle ages were already rehabilitating the female morality of Northern Europe, badly stained by the evils described above.

This rehabilitation was effected by the rebirth of the Northern European ideal of Woman at the Reformation, which recreated the old Germanic ideal on a *religious* basis, most clearly expressed in the words of Luther:

"A pious and God-fearing woman is a marvellous good thing, nobler and more precious than a pearl. Her husband trusts in her and confides everything to her. She rejoices him and makes him of good cheer, never grieves him, doing him good and not evil all his life. She works with flax and wool and finds ready occupation for her hands, renews the household gear and is like a merchant vessel which comes from distant lands bringing many wares of value. She rises early, victuals the servants and gives the maids that which they are to have. She cheerfully takes charge of everything submitted to her care. What does not concern her she leaves alone. She sees what is advantageous and averts what is harmful. Her light does not go out at night. She reaches out her hand to the spinning-wheel and her fingers grasp the spindle, she works industriously and with a will. She protects the poor and needy, is ready to give and to help. Her ornaments are cleanliness and diligence. She opens her mouth in wisdom and her tongue speaks comfortable doctrine; she brings up her children graciously in the Word of God. Her husband praises her; her sons come and bless her."

This housewifely ideal, which, by the way, is far

older than Luther (readers versed in the Scriptures will remember something like it in the Old Testament *), passed, as Bücher says, after the Reformation (again) into German national consciousness, and to this day, in spite of the War and of Communism, it dominates the ideas of Woman's social position and of marriage held by wide circles of the German population.† He adds that this strengthening of Woman's position in the family did not come from above, but from below, since it was due in great measure to the working German commonalty. There are signs in Scandinavia that the older Socialists are becoming aware, to some extent at least, that social reforms, if they are to be worth anything, must begin by reconstituting the old housewifely ideals, regenerating the young women of our day, and at the same time, as far as it is feasible, drawing women away from the factory—by degrees, at any rate—and restoring them to the family and domestic work; whereas unfortunately the Communists, as a rule—especially that section under Russian-Jewish influence—are working in a diametrically opposite direction.

* Proverbs, Ch. XXXI. It is one of the many paradoxes of modern Feminism that no one is so old-fashioned—so ultra-conservative, in fact—in his views of the family and in his family life as the Jew in all countries (therein consists the best part of his moral strength and racial tenacity), and yet no one has worked so zealously for the dissemination of Feminism in the white man's world, ridiculed the parallel, Gotho-Germanic ideal of Woman and altogether done so much to destroy that ideal amongst us—though at home it is his own ideal—as precisely the Jewish writers and the Jewish Press of all countries. Let him explain it who can.

† Cf. our insistence on this as long ago as 1912, in a paper called "Kultur og Karakter," reprinted in *Verdenspolitiske Kriser*, Copenhagen, 1917.

CHAPTER VII

PRESENT-DAY FEMINISM

1. *Its Origin.*

We have seen in the preceding pages that Feminism in classical antiquity was essentially a more or less academic discussion of Woman's value and potentialities within the sphere of the family, but only exceptionally outside it; and that even in the most favourable cases this discussion did not result in any practical, legal deductions worth mentioning. We have also seen that there was no Feminism in the middle ages, to which period Woman's subordinate status was a matter of course, so long as there was some man in or outside the family on whom she could depend; on the other hand, a Woman Question arose on grounds of population pure and simple. It is a favourite assumption nowadays that Feminism and the modern Woman's Movement were started and justified in the first place by the necessity of self-support for the great surplus of women, supposedly peculiar to the present day, who cannot get married. This presumed necessity was then hailed as progress, because economic Feminism makes the young woman independent of marriage and in particular frees her from the supposedly degrading position of having to wait for a man who will take her.

These current notions are both substantially and

historically entirely wrong. As a matter of fact the numerical proportion between men and women in Northern Europe, where Feminism first arose, is better than ever, and seldom more adverse than an excess of 5 per cent. on the women's side in Europe *—far less, that is, than in the middle ages. This small surplus therefore cannot account either for the Woman's Movement or for self-support, which indeed involves to a very great extent quite young women who afterwards marry.

And viewed historically the modern Woman's Movement was started by an artificial agitation, which on the one hand originated as one of the many wild offshoots of the *liberalistic* movement which about a hundred years ago took hold of the greater part of the intellectual life of Northern Europe, and on the other was kept alive by a few ladies of the bourgeoisie with literary interests and a certain aptitude for writing.

We find then that present-day Feminism as an idea —even though it was to prove itself a bad idea—has its root in the general ideas of equality which appear in the course of the eighteenth century among the philosophers of the Age of Enlightenment, and which were crystallized, for example, in the celebrated Declaration of the Rights of Man at the time of the French Revolution. These universal human rights, again, were derived from the principle that all human beings are born equal, so that it is only economic and social conditions that divide them. These French ideas of equality, as we all know, penetrated the greater part of Western Europe in the course of the two subsequent generations, being directed in the first place against all

* In the New World, on the other hand, the men, especially the whites, show a similar excess.

barriers which birth, wealth, rank or position had previously raised among human beings, to the supposed detriment of the free development of the best capacities

The whole of this attack was, however, essentially of a political nature, in so far as it was mainly directed against the then prevailing political organization of the Western and Northern European States, but only in a less degree against their social arrangement, and scarcely at all against the family system or against the established regulation of the social position of Man and Woman. I am aware that Babeuf, in the early days of the French Revolution, threw out ideas for a liberation of women; but as in his opinion women, like many other things, were to be common property, and as his contemporaries were not prepared to draw such a conclusion, the French Revolution remained without *direct* significance for feminine emancipation, as also for religious emancipation.*

While this political revolution of the bourgeoisie attained practical results with comparative rapidity, the next deduction from the theories of equality, that is, the *social* revolution, was not expounded till towards the middle of the nineteenth century, especially by the Frenchman Proudhon, who is in reality the spiritual father of modern socialism, mainly through his great work, *Système des Contradictions Économiques, ou Phil-*

* The worship of reason, in which the Goddess of Reason was to be adored in the person of a young woman, was rejected, as we know, by Robespierre, who decided that the French nation believed in a Supreme Being, revealed in the likeness of a Man. The Neo-Communists of Russia have attempted, as we know, to introduce both community of women and the worship of reason. (Compare also Mary Wollstonecraft at the end of the eighteenth century. See further my recent essay, *Die Frauenfrage der Gegenwart*, in the Report of the International Congress for Sexual Research, Berlin, 1927.)

osophie de la Misère (1846). That it was not he but the German Karl Marx who came to be regarded as the founder of present-day socialism is due partly to the structure of the Germanic mind being more receptive to the consequences of revolutionary ideas of equality than that of the Latins, and partly to the fact that industrialism and the accompanying growth of the proletariat proceeded more rapidly in Germany and to some extent in Scandinavia than in the rest of continental Europe. Curiously enough Marxism has nevertheless not taken practical effect in the German, but in the Slav world, for special reasons which I cannot enter into on the present occasion.*

But while the ideas of liberty and equality even in these political and social fields had hitherto stopped short of the family, and in particular had respected, instinctively as it were, the deeply rooted differences between Man and Woman, it became the special task of Feminism to introduce the consequences of equality into the relations between the two sexes, and thereby into the family, that is, into the primary cell of all social order and organization. It will already be understood from this that the consequences of Feminism have quite as much bearing on the continuance and welfare of society as the revolutionary demands of political Liberalism or economic Socialism. This being so, it is strange that comparatively little atten-

* Professor Werner Sombart, who must be regarded as among the foremost authorities in this field, has also inclined in recent years to our view of Proudhon as the typical European socialist in opposition to Marx, whom Sombart began by praising so highly that for many years the German Social Democrats regarded him as one of themselves. See on this point Michel's essay in the *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, 1925, 1.

tion has hitherto been paid to the principles of Feminism, and that it has often been assumed that they were right, or at any rate as right as the rest of the ideas of equality on the basis of which our society has undoubtedly made great progress, in any case in a material and technical sense.

Now these feministic ideas make their appearance about the middle of last century in various parts of the white man's world, and although they are seldom based deliberately and consciously on the rights of man as asserted in the French Revolution, they nevertheless transfer the resulting principles of liberty and equality in a greater or less degree to the two sexes, which are assumed to be equal in all essential qualities, especially in the intellectual sphere. It is still admitted that considerable differences exist, but these are explained away for the most part as the result of Man's age-long domination and Woman's consequent exclusion from various branches of training and activity. If we read John Stuart Mill's famous book, *The Subjection of Women*, we constantly come across the same train of thought or the same arguments that afterwards became current throughout a great part of the Germanic woman's world. In this book, which may well be described as the catechism of modern feminine emancipation, it is assumed or positively laid down that Man and Woman are by nature alike in all essentials. Break down all social and economic barriers between the sexes and throw open existence in an equal degree to both, and it will presently be seen that Woman, at any rate in the intellectual sphere, is in no way inferior to Man in her powers and capacities. Let us therefore begin by testing this

foundation, these first principles of feminine emancipation, which the whole body of Feminists have not only maintained to this day, but have even intensified in recent years, as I shall show later.

The feministic theory then assumes originally that Woman's various qualities are only developed to a feebler extent because Man in all ages has artificially kept her under. The very logic of this principle is suspect, since we are immediately faced by the difficulty: how could Man have subjected Woman and kept her in dependence on himself, if not by the very fact that he was the stronger? To this it is sought to object that Man was physically the stronger and that this was sufficient to place and keep Woman in a state of slavery. The weakness of this view has never been thoroughly exposed, though it seems to me fairly obvious. According to a biological theory of this sort, the largest and physically strongest animals would have made themselves masters of the earth, which is entirely opposed to modern biological knowledge. According to the latter an immense number of the largest and most powerful animal forms have disappeared, while one of the physically weaker, namely, man, has hitherto survived them all, in spite of all difficulties of climate, natural vicissitudes and external enemies, and has done so pre-eminently by virtue of intellectual superiority. We are therefore forced to accept it as extremely probable that Man, in so far as he has subjected Woman to himself, has been able to do so by virtue of his average intelligence being superior to hers. In other words, Woman's weakness or weaknesses, especially in the psychical sphere, are not a result of Man's so-called oppression of her, but,

on the contrary, are the real cause of her having in all ages and among all races subjected herself to him.

Here we come upon the fundamental question, also much neglected, of how this psychical and physical superiority of Man or the male to Woman or the female originated or developed. Its origin cannot possibly be explained as a result of Man's oppression of Woman, since superiority must, of course, have preceded subjection. This problem is to a certain extent identical with the question of how the sex-characters, physical and psychical, originated in the dawn of time, and to this extent it coincides with the problem of the origin and significance of sex-differentiation in biological development.

It is only recently that scientific enquirers have paid much attention to this fundamental biological question; we therefore do not know very much about it as yet, and the subject is too vast in itself to be treated in this connection. I shall merely call attention in passing to a hypothesis which has been put forward by the German anthropologist Klaatsch in his work on the Origin and Development of Man and Culture. He points out how the most violent conflicts have always taken place among most mammals, including men—at any rate in primitive times, the longest period—over the only value known to the primitive male, namely, the female. These age-long, merciless and furious fights among the males for the best female, or for several of them, has forced the male type among most of the higher mammals, including man, up on to a higher physical and psychical plane than the female type. Without expressing an opinion for or against this working hypothesis, I would yet remark that

Woman can hardly have anything against it; since, if it be correct, it means amongst other things that we men in the final instance owe to Woman, or rather to our interest in women, most of our higher qualities.

In any case the idea seems to me a fertile one, since it must be admitted that this cultural factor exists to-day, though in a different guise. Men still fight nowadays, with various kinds of weapons, chiefly for two things. One is to acquire a certain measure of economic benefits, the other to acquire a certain measure of the benefits of love. Some are more interested, apparently in any case, in the economic values, others more in Woman or women, and both interests may be carried too far; but it is psychologically interesting that of these two evils, symbolized as the miser without interest for women and the Don Juan type without economic sense, the women, if the worst comes to the worst, as a rule prefer the latter.

Be this as it may, we may recognize a part of Klaatsch's natural law in the fact that we often see young men, and by no means the least among them, inspired to work, industry and accomplishment by their interest in a woman, or by their desire of winning the approval of a woman in one form or other; in reality there are but few men who are stimulated as strongly by ideas alone. These men are called thinkers, poets, artists and musicians; in many respects they belong to the outcasts of society, and in particular, as Sören Kierkegaard says, they are almost always the laughing-stock of the girls. Only the strongest of them manage to hold their own in this prosaic life on earth.

After this little digression we may return to our

starting-point. We were saying that present-day Feminism does not owe its origin to material or economic causes, but is a liberalistic inference from the ideas of liberty and equality, by which these were now introduced into the spheres of sexual and family life. This point of view will receive further confirmation if we examine historically the origin of modern feminine emancipation with reference to Scandinavia. We shall then find that the first germs of the movement were not sown by the proletariat in a struggle to have the factory gates thrown open to women—Woman entered those gates easily enough and early enough—or to obtain more rights within the married state. Nor was feminine emancipation championed by the peasant class, in which a natural division of labour and a natural relation between the competence of the two sexes is easily established without interference from outside. But it was championed by the women of the higher bourgeoisie, with the co-operation and support of men of liberal views, who were prevented by their principles of liberty from opposing this final consequence of the French Revolution's ideas of equality. Feminine emancipation is to such an extent independent of material motives that, at any rate in Norway, Sweden and Denmark, it has been raised in the main on a literary and æsthetic foundation.

The first trace of Feminism we have found in the intellectual life of Scandinavia dates back to 1833, when Johan Ludvig Heiberg sent out an "Invitation to a series of philosophical lectures," which, it is true, were never given. But in this leaflet he says, amongst other things: * "he intends to present an introduction

* *Prosaiske Skrifter*, 1861, Vol. I, p. 435.

to philosophy within the comprehension of all educated persons. Indeed, this hope is so lively that he is unwilling to assume that these lectures need be confined to men, but ventures to believe that educated ladies, while gracing the audience with their presence, will also be able to take part in the serious discussion of the subject; for, even though men usually have a keener and more consistent intellect and greater dialectical abilities, the female sex on the other hand generally possesses a surer, more unerring tact for immediately seizing the truth . . . and the writer considers the latter quality as effective as the former for acquiring knowledge."

No less a man than Sören Kierkegaard was at once in arms against this movement, the danger of which was instantly appreciated by his unsurpassed psychological acumen, and which he opposed in a contribution signed P. E. in the *Interimsblad* for December 4, 1834, ostensibly as a reply to an article entitled "A Defence of the Higher Origin of Woman." Kierkegaard's contribution ("Another Defence of Woman's High Gifts") is couched in his usual ironical style, and as the first anti-Feminist document of importance in Danish literature it deserves to be known in its entirety. It runs as follows: *

"So much has been said against the ladies' trying to improve themselves in a theoretical as well as a practical way; indeed, this very paper has been sarcastic on the subject, mainly with reference to the

* See Kierkegaard's Collected Works, edited by Drachmann, Heiberg and Lange, Vol. XIII, p. 5, Copenhagen, 1906. Even before this, P. M. Möller in some studies (collected under the title of *Qvindelighed*—"Womanliness"—third edition of his works Vol. V) had definitely objected even to "a female being a poetess by profession," which he calls "unseemly, nay, abominable."

philosophical instruction just offered to the public in the form of lectures.* But how unfair this is! The history of all ages shows that Woman's lofty gifts have been acknowledged, at least in part. Scarcely was Man created, when we already find Eve attending the Serpent's philosophical lectures; and we see that she assimilated them with such facility as immediately to be able to apply them in her domestic practice. The Orientals endeavoured to satisfy this speculative turn, and the accompanying desire of deeper knowledge thus early manifested. They therefore shut their women up in harems; and if now and then a stray traveller has ventured into these sanctuaries, he has doubtless been impelled solely by a spirit of enquiry. For this reason the women veiled themselves so as not to be disturbed in their meditations. Not all, however, were thus cut off from life in order to brood over more abstract matters: a great number sought rather to assert their ability in daily life. Woman's talents as an orator are so great that she has made history with a category of her own, namely what are known as Curtain Lectures and the like; and Xantippe still stands as a pattern of feminine eloquence and as the founder of a school which has endured to this day, while the school of Socrates has vanished long since. Although Christianity was hard enough on women, in forbidding them to speak in the congregation, it yet conceded them a field for their eloquence in their own homes; and if the rabbis would not allow them their say, it was simply because they were afraid they would cut them out or expose their foolishness. In the middle ages the frequent trials of witches were

* A dig at J. L. Heiberg, see above.

sufficient evidence of Woman's profound insight into the secrets of Nature.

"Nevertheless many centuries went by before the high gifts of Woman were duly acknowledged. This was reserved for France; and here we will only point to two phenomena: that in the French Revolution Reason was represented by a female, and that the Saint-Simonians put women on an absolute equality with men. If we add to this that no one has ever yet succeeded in overcoming a lady in dispute, that Woman's dialectical ability has reduced many an opponent to silence, her superiority in matters of intelligence will doubtless be apparent, a superiority which extends to all branches of intellectual powers; and this is presumably why the antechambers of the great are crowded with ladies, and married ladies too, namely because their acuteness, inventiveness and so forth is so greatly superior to that of their husbands.

"Nor do the ladies of our day allow us to lack examples of these high gifts of Woman. We are indebted to the ladies for many theatrical works, one of which has enriched casuistry with many new conflicts and attracts much attention. In recent years a lady * is the only one who has demonstrated the immortality of the soul—in a book which, in conjunction with Christiane Rosen's cookery book, has served to keep many people alive. With rapid strides the ladies hasten to their exalted goal: in æsthetics ladies contribute criticism; in medicine the Board of Health allows them to prescribe pitch caps; † in art

* Hanna Irgens, *Orfanina*, Copenhagen, 1822; severely reviewed by P. M. Möller; see his Works, Vol. V.

† An old cure for dandruff, used by "wise women."

they are occupied with the most lofty subjects—they conjure forth supernatural beings upon their canvas, and assist the men in promoting the extension of art; in industry they are the first inventors of the manufacture of gloves and stockings; in history they keep well abreast of the times, and many a newspaper, many a journal, which Man regards as insignificant, does not escape their keen eye—in the fashion papers they study the spirit of the age. All thanks then to you, great men, who help them to attain the summits of knowledge, and yet do not forget the other sex. Therefore it is so pleasing to see that the man who is specially anxious to interest the ladies * is not entirely forgetful of the men, and extends his philanthropic enthusiasm to all. I look forward with delight to the time when the ladies will know how to explain what love really is, will have a clear idea of the nature of warmth, will in the study of history far surpass the men in exactitude, since they will even be able to tell us what Hagbart and Signe † had for dinner, or whether they had any dinner at all, and will penetrate deeply into the mysteries of the Trinity (though this doctrine will present special difficulties, since hitherto they have found it hard to grasp the principle of *two* in one). Return then, O Age of Chivalry, in another sphere! As in medieval days the ladies were appointed judges of the tournament, so now academic theses, plays, philosophical works will be submitted to your judgment; as each knight was wont to wear the colours of his lady, so we shall hear no more of Kan-

* Heiberg again.

† The hero and heroine of a famous old Danish ballad; their story also occurs in Saxo.—(Tr.).

tians, Hegelians, or the like. No! in future we shall be known as the Blues, the Reds, and so on; from the hand of Eve we shall receive the apple of knowledge. Soar then above the earth! Even now ye are changing above into winged birds,* let but the breeze distend your ample sleeves and vanish from our sight, from the sight of the multitudes who will assemble to witness the Ascension of the Ladies. Fly then away from this ungrateful earth, raise yourselves on the pinions of philosophy and look down with scorn on those whose servile minds prefer to linger among the flesh-pots, like the Jews of old. And when in this cold winter men shall have repented of their sin, a spring shall smile upon them with your return, and then once more Woman shall give her hand to Man—a pair of April fools."

As we see, Kierkegaard—like Aristophanes before him—combats the Feminists with their own weapons: sophistical and dialectical hair-splitting carried to absurdity, whereas neither he nor his opponents touch upon the *premises* of the whole Feminist movement. These assumptions, which, of course, should be proved —if that were possible—at the outset, consist of the dogma of the equality or homogeneity of the two sexes, whereas we have seen, on the contrary, in the preceding chapters that Man and Woman, especially in a psychical respect, are as different as two beings can be, if—as Harald Nielsen has pertinently remarked —they are both to be included in the category of *human being*. The champions of the cause of Woman really believe, or did originally, with the credulity of

* An allusion to Horace, *Odes*, Bk. II, xx.

ignorance, that not only are all human beings born equal, as the French Revolution, in the face of all biological knowledge, decreed in 1789, but also that men and women are mutually equivalent, if only they are given the same start and the same chances.

A drastic example of this confusion of ideas, which, it seems, is of constant recurrence in our civilization, is afforded by the book *Männerstaat und Frauenstaat*, which Mathilde and Mathias Vaerting published not long ago in Germany.* On the basis chiefly of the perversities of a few negro tribes and other obscure and inferior races, together with doubtful passages in certain ancient Egyptian traditions, the book attempts to prove that we might just as well invert the order of nature and give Woman the upper hand, both physically and psychically, all along the line, and women would almost at once acquire the qualities of men, and vice versa! This monstrous assertion characterizes itself at the very beginning of the book, where the Vaerting ménage seeks to show the identity † actually of the arrangements and effects of *prostitution* in the Man's State and the Woman's State respectively. Here, however, Vaerting is forced to admit that, for purely physiological reasons, male prostitution, freely purchasable by the women, can hardly assume precisely the same forms or extent in the Woman's State as female prostitution in the Man's State.

One would think that in *this* connection at any rate

* Karlsruhe 1921, continued in 1923 with *Wahrheit und Irrtum in der Geschlechter-Psychologie*, wherein Dr. Vaerting even threatens a third volume of the same pseudo-scientific and—what is worse—perversive kind.

† *Op. cit.*, pp. 27–30.

no mistake was possible, and yet the Vaertings fall into one as soon as they try to account for this sexual difference, admitted even by them. For they base this difference exclusively on the fact that, for purely physiological reasons, Woman is more dilatory in coition than Man; but this is really only true of degenerate, sexually anæsthetic and therefore erotically passive women, as we explained at some length in Chapter III. This is in agreement with Dr. Kurt Schneider's already quoted *Studien über Persönlichkeit und Schicksal Eingeschriebener Prostituierter*, the great majority of whom prove to be anæsthetic natures. It is to this rather than to their specifically female physique that their power of frequently repeating the act is due. The profoundest and most fundamental difference between the sexes in their relation to sexuality is, however, that the *decisive* erotic initiative always is, always has been and always must be on the man's side, or, to speak plainly (as has been pointed out by Harald Nielsen in Denmark * and to some extent by Sigrid Undset in Norway,† all honour to her), that no woman can force coition on any man, much less impregnation, while on the other hand every man can force both on any woman, if he wishes it. But from this difference, only commonplace in appearance, many more consequences follow, psychical as well as physical, than are dreamt of by most people—to say nothing of Mrs. (Mr.?) Vaerting or Mr. (Mrs.?) Vaerting.

* In *Moderne Ægteskab* ("Modern Marriage"), pp. 39 ff.

† *Et Kvindesynspunkt* ("A Woman's Point of View"), quoted at length by Harald Nielsen: *I Lys af Ægteskabsloven* ("In the Light of the Marriage Law"), especially pp. 110 ff.

We have made a thorough clearance in the earlier pages of this book of this superficial idea of the homogeneity of the sexes, based on a crude denial of all facts, so that it is presumably clear once for all that Man and Woman are not equal, never have been equal, and never will be; that, on the contrary, the sex-differentiation in every respect is so great that the natural affinity between men of different higher races is far greater than that between men and women of the same race. But this time the Feminists had a chance which they have never had before, and which gave them and their agitation a practical significance it had hitherto lacked and would otherwise have continued to lack. This was the appearance of an entirely new economic system, which again soon involved a reorganization, not only of economic production, but of political and social forms, and finally had a disintegrating effect even on family life. The whole of this course of events is so familiar that we need not dwell on it. We shall only call attention to the fatal error of regarding and representing this development as in any respect a gain, or still more a victory, for Woman as such. Modern industry, mechanical appliances and mass production deprived her of important fields of work, and that she regained them, at any rate in part, by independently entering many branches of industry, is due solely to the fact that the technical mechanization of a great part of modern production is based on a monotonous repetition of small movements which seldom demand either strength or reflection, and therefore either suit her nature better than Man's or can be performed more cheaply by her, chiefly on

account of her fewer physical and psychical needs. In this way she forces Man out of most subordinate positions, but seldom out of more important ones, and never out of such as demand ability, strength, independent reflection and initiative, and so on, except when a woman is thrust into such a post by political doctrinairism.

2. *Economic Feminism.*

As a fundamental rule, therefore, the main result of Dr. Elon Wikmark's admirable investigation of this subject in *Die Frauenfrage des schwedischen Bürgertums* holds good now as it did at the beginning of the century: "As the women thrust out the men, they thrust them *upward.*" Woman's chances of competition and her "victories" in the labour market are thus substantially comparable to those of Man of a similar nature, as those of the cheaper races in competition with our own, such as the Poles in Denmark, the Japanese in America, the Chinese in India and South Africa, and so on; but in all important fields the *direction* has remained in the hands of *Man.* This is the main reason why the purely economic Woman's Movement in itself has not been able to bring about any material deterioration of the white man's economic culture and organization, where, in the nature of things, he must always retain the leadership. There is the additional factor that the leaders of the Woman's Movement in their doctrinaire assertion of equal rights have succeeded in getting the principle of the *equal wage* established in a number of cases, the precise result of which is that sooner or later Woman drops

out of the employment concerned. For as soon as the principle of the equal wage is established in any occupation, without its being accompanied by some sort of preferential guarantee in favour of women, they will not in the long run be able to hold their own, except in such employments as Man will not take because they involve operations which he finds tedious or which put a restraint on his natural talents and development. For, when a trade is sought after by men but compelled by law to pay the same wages to women, the employer naturally prefers sooner or later those who as a rule work better and are less liable to be absent through illness at the same scale of wages. We had an example of this in the spring of 1924 in the Danish Pharmaceutical Society's circular to druggists recommending a reduction in the number of female pupils accepted.*

Altogether signs are multiplying that purely economic Feminism not only has its limits, and not only has already reached these limits in all essentials, but has even entered upon a retrograde movement in many respects, answering to the growing recognition of the limits of Woman's usefulness on the part of male employers and a few sensible women. As peculiarly characteristic in this respect we may mention a series of statements made by some of the leaders of Danish Feminism in the magazine pages of the journal *Politiken* for June 29, 1924, as the result of an *enquête* suggested by the summer matriculation examination for women

* Another example is the opposition to the equal wage shown by the municipalities of Frederiksberg and Copenhagen in the debates on their budgets for 1920 and 1919 respectively.

students. Thus Miss Johanne Christiansen, Dr. med., says of the women medical students:

"There are far too many women students! I have seen an immense number of cases of young women not being able to stand the course, and from these personal experiences I must warn girls against entering it. If the woman student has the talent and at the same time the physical strength, it is well enough; but it is only a very few who have them, and they ought seriously to question themselves before they go further; for great keenness, great strength and great ability are required to enter into competition with the men. Medical studies are severe, and great strength is necessary to get through the hard years, and then in the end there is no certainty of practice on which to found a future. It is not enough to know one's work; one must also know how to succeed. I believe that a great many women—even if they have matriculated—would be well advised to choose domestic work, which is not only healthier, but in my belief would bring them greater happiness. There are far too many who are unsuccessful in the struggle, and who can never be happy."

Dr. Valfrid Munch-Petersen, a woman lecturer in the philosophical faculty, says:

"If you ask me how I regard philosophical work for women, I must answer that for any woman who is philosophically gifted there is nothing better—it is the ideal work of her life. But there are very few young women students who can take this course, because it demands an absolute gift for philosophical work. Economically it is probably not a very good thing to

base one's future on studies of this kind; it depends, of course, on what one is going to take up; but from an ideal point of view it brings great happiness to those who have the gift."

Miss Clara Black, a former Inspector of Unemployment, expresses herself as follows:

"Political economy is bound to be extraordinarily interesting to young students, since it is the study which brings one into closer connection than any other with the phenomena of actual life. But the difficulty is that far too many are turned out in this branch, as is also the case with jurists. The chances ought to be abundant, but they are very restricted at present: retrenchment is the order of the day wherever women economists might expect to find employment, in the banks, the public departments, and in private business concerns, and the women feel that the wind is against them—here as elsewhere. Their competition has by degrees been felt too strongly, and the excuse given is that women ask the same salary as the men and will not accept the inferior situations."

Miss Emilie Buchwald, a solicitor of the High Court, gives the following opinion:

"I would advise the young students to learn housekeeping at any rate, before taking up law. The study itself may perhaps be suitable for women, but only very few women jurists have any real interest in law; they do not find the purely practical business of a lawyer easy, and most of them pass into office work, in the Ministries, for instance, or the maritime and commercial courts, where they are content to have a permanent situation and forget their law. Women are

well looked upon in the offices where they are employed; they are practical and on the whole very conscientious —perhaps it is on account of their excessive conscientiousness that they are satisfied with less responsible work. However, there are too many of them, and I know that in lawyers' offices the women graduates are turned down if there are men applying for the place.

" Of course it may be said that if women are looking for a permanent situation it is a good thing for them to have taken their degree in law—but practically I do not believe the profession of lawyer is suited to women. They do not give themselves time to learn what is required of a solicitor. No, let the young women students rather learn housekeeping! "

Meanwhile economic Feminism has caused, and will continue to cause, great derangement and mischief in the sphere of *consumption*, and thus also in that of production. In order to understand this, we must make a little digression into social economy.

Professor Axel Nielsen concluded an article on the problem of the exchange * with the very pertinent remark that the economy of Denmark depended to a great extent on whether the spending habits of the population were changed for the better in some way or other; by legislation, for instance. The Professor was obviously referring to the great consumption of luxuries, especially of foreign goods, of which a good deal has already been said, without, however, bringing us nearer to the nature or the real causes of this great expenditure on luxuries.

* In *Nationaltidende*, Copenhagen, August 1 and 2, 1924, evening edition.

The common assumption is that it is exclusively, or in any case mainly, a numerically inconsiderable upper class that has accustomed itself to the consumption of all these foreign goods, which swell the adverse trade balance. A closer statistical and sociological scrutiny soon shows, however, that this consumption of luxuries is so great that it cannot possibly be borne solely by an upper-class minority, however rich—the consumption of these expensive and superfluous articles must have penetrated far down into the broader strata of the population.

Now it is admittedly difficult to decide what are luxuries and what must be described as necessities, but all are agreed that articles of luxury are chiefly to be found among goods which may be classed under the heads of grocery or drapery, both taken in their widest sense. Of the former the imports for the two years 1921–1922 taken together amounted to 250 million kroner, of which foreign wines and spirits accounted for 20 millions, tobacco 50 millions, foreign fruit and garden produce 70 millions. During the same two years the drapery imports totalled 370 million kroner, divided as follows:

	Million kroner
Silks	46
Woollen goods	101
Vegetable fabrics	129
Articles of clothing	94
	370

"Vegetable fabrics" consist for the most part of cotton goods, while "articles of clothing" comprise made-up dresses and millinery of every kind, excluding

leather boots and shoes. If we add the imports of foreign boots and shoes, the total will be nearer 400 million kroner, so that these two branches of trade together loaded our imports for the two years in question with a total of about 650 million kroner. That is half as much again as our total adverse trade balance for the same two years (420 million kroner). Now, of course, nothing like the whole of this consumption is luxury; perhaps not even half of it can be so described. But it is certain that at least half of it could be dispensed with and saved, since more than half these goods were not in use, and in fact were scarcely even known by name, a generation or two ago. This applies in particular to foreign fruit, wines and spirits, and tobacco (140 millions), and to silks, cotton goods and ready-made dresses (270 millions), altogether 410 million kroner, or very nearly the deficit in our trade balance for these two years. The figures for the succeeding years will be even worse, since the imports from January 1, 1923, to September 1, 1924—that is, only twenty months—in the two groups we have named were just as heavy as for the preceding twenty-four months, 1921–1922.

Now who consumes these, if not entirely superfluous, at any rate dispensable goods? Practically speaking, all Danes, though in various degrees, as may be seen in the household accounts of the Bureau of Statistics; and the degree corresponds pretty nearly with the scale of income: the higher the income, the more pronounced are the habits we refer to. However, the root of the matter is often overlooked, which is, that these habits of expenditure do not begin with the

relatively few cases of a yearly income of 10,000 to 12,000 kroner, but as low as 2000 to 3000 kroner. And this peculiar phenomenon, that expenditure on luxuries, taken in this sense, begins nowadays with such comparatively small incomes, is due in the first place to the fact that a large proportion of the population is now earning money at an early age, while still provided for wholly or in part by others, so that their "free" income is relatively very considerable. This applies to a great number of young people of both sexes, but above all, as everybody knows, to the young women. Whereas a generation ago practically the whole income of the community was handled by the husband and breadwinner, who in both capacities and as the naturally *creative* economic force * laid out the family income, as a rule with the greatest possible circumspection—apart from solitary upper-class cases of no general importance—nowadays a very considerable part of the income of the community is earned and spent by young women, as a rule unmarried, who, in spite of all their amiability of nature and other good qualities, are lacking in sense, in experience and in economic foresight and interest, but are all the more possessed of a craze for imitation, fashion and amusement. Now we know from economics that demand is determined by purchasing power, and the purchasing power placed in the hands of these young women amounts nowadays to hundreds of millions of kroner annually, a very important item in our national

* Man's economic strength lies in direct, creative force, Woman's in saving. Both are equally necessary to sound domestic and political economy, and thus equally meritorious, since what is saved is earned.

economy. Whether we follow up the fate of these millions by personal investigation of our daughters' wardrobes and pocket-money or in the dry figures of trade statistics, we reach the same astonishing results. Hundreds of telephone and telegraph girls, thousands of shop assistants and women clerks own dresses, boots, shoes, stockings and hats by the dozen, where girls of the same class a generation ago were content with one pair of shoes and boots, one everyday and one Sunday dress, home-knitted woollen stockings, one winter and one summer hat, and where moreover these things could be repaired (such as woollen stockings as against silk) and were repaired. Nowadays the picture is a very different one: shoes are thrown out pair after pair, either because the colour has gone out of fashion or the shape has changed; dresses are banished long before they are half worn out, simply because the variable female mind has got tired of them or a friend has got one that is smarter; while most men are breadwinners and therefore wear out their shoes and their clothes to the last stitch, according to the old saying that in a well-regulated family there is money for everything—except a new coat for Father! I have interviewed a number of our in many ways capable and sympathetic telephone operators, asking them why they did not put by money instead of constantly changing their wardrobe. The answer was almost always the same: "We know it's rather silly of us, but one doesn't like to be cut out by the others." A young woman may be plunged into tears simply because she has to wear a sound and handsome coat—of last year, or because she is not allowed to wear silk stockings.

Her excuse is that the men will not pay any attention to her. But that is not true: our mothers and grandmothers knew nothing but the, to "our" eyes, ugly home-knitted woollen stockings, and yet they all got husbands and usually twice as many children as their daughters. Whatever faults men may have, they are still interested in what is inside the clothes rather than in the style of them.

With the help of a supervisor I took a sample at random of our self-supporting women in a group of twenty young telephone operators. They earned from 140 to 200 kroner a month. Most of them paid for their board at home, which turned out to be 40 to 50 kroner a month for everything. The rest went in clothes and amusements—100 to 150 kroner a month. Most of them actually had accounts, that is debts at the big drapers' shops; on the second of the month, after all instalments, etc., were paid, some of them had not a farthing till the next pay-day. *Così fan tutte*—so long as they are unmarried; apart from the exceptions who have a mother, a brother or a child to look after.

It cannot be objected that these young women, after all, are so poorly paid that it matters little to the community how their wages are spent. Taking an average of all classes, the younger self-supporting women in Copenhagen receive about 200 to 250 kroner a month, the elder often more; and as no boarding-house charges more than half of this for a woman's full board, and most of these women live at home for 50 to 100 kroner a month, each of these self-supporting thousands has on an average some 150 kroner a month for clothes

and amusement, a sum which no married man, with the best will in the world, can afford to give his wife, until we reach the incomes above 12,000 kroner a year, that is, the comparatively rare exceptions.* This is the main reason why all kinds of feminine luxuries and superfluities now have an unprecedented sale, though the times undeniably call for increased production in very different fields, *e.g.*, good housing. But for this there is no money, as it is demand and purchasing power which determine the nature of production, and this mighty purchasing power is now to a great extent in the hands of inexperienced, irresponsible and in some cases misguided young women, amid the enthusiastic cheers of the Feminists. It is not easy to state accurately how much this means in the nation's yearly budget; we estimate it at about 150 million kroner a year, and this is all money spent dead against the interests of the family and of the community.

It is true that statistics as now presented afford few data for this estimate, which we shall therefore make good in greater detail. Danish statistics of employment give about one million men and half a million women as wage-earners, without our being able directly to determine how many of these women are to be counted as *self-supporting*. Statistics of taxation show that assessments of incomes over 800 kroner per annum gave an aggregate income for the whole country of 3100 million kroner for the year 1923–1924, of which

* When a woman who has been thus spoilt eventually marries, one of two things is liable to happen: either she makes her husband's life a burden with fretting and complaints that she can no longer squander money as before, or she ruins him—unless, indeed, she takes a lover who can give her what she wants.

no less than 800 millions was earned by persons *supported*, whose real income was therefore something greater. Quite 300 millions of this may be supposed to fall to supported women, and at least a third of this, in accordance with our arguments above, went in expenditure indefensible from the point of view of national economy; which gives us about 100 million kroner per annum as an expenditure on luxuries directly attributable to economic Feminism, but unreasonable.

This result may be verified by the latest official investigations in this field, namely the Statistical Department's examination of the Census of 1921, which includes information of the earnings and income both of men and women. There were then in the capital alone no fewer than 97,810 wage-earning women, with an aggregate *declared* income of 269 million kroner; in the provincial towns 74,291, with 125 millions, and in the country districts 85,994, also with 125 millions of declared income; a total of about 258,000 wage-earning women who disposed of a yearly income of 520 million kroner. But all these figures are still too low, both because the declaration of income admits of more or less permissible deductions, and because a very large proportion of the women do not throw any light on their income. Thus in the capital, besides the 97,810 women with declared income, there were 46,760 who gave no income; in the provincial towns there were 35,871 and in the country 157,128 women who made no statement as to income.

To throw a clear light on the status of these women in the community and its economy, we now only have

to find out how many of them lived in a household not their own, either in a family or in a boarding-house. We have this information as regards the capital, where there were in all 73,396 wage-earning women without a household of their own, with an income declared at 175 million kroner. To these must be added, as above, 33,376 with no declaration of income. Let us modestly assume that one-third of these uncommunicative women were really without any income at all, and that the other two-thirds had only half as much as the communicative. We must then add to the 175 millions $22{,}000 \times 1200 = 26$ million kroner. We thus get a total of at least 200 million kroner as the annual income of the wage-earning, but wholly or partly supported women in Copenhagen in 1921, and this figure, for the reasons given, is an absolute minimum; the actual figure is certainly nearer 250 millions. By a similar mode of procedure we get for the whole country a total of about 400 million kroner as the absolute minimum—presumably nearer 500 millions—and as the wages level has sunk since 1921 in the proportion of about 5 to 3 (in any case not more), our *a priori* estimate—of 300 millions as the taxable income of women who earn wages but are supported wholly or in part by others—is confirmed in the handsomest way.

But with this we are by no means at the end of the matter: the young women dispose of other sources of income which do not appear in the statistics of taxation but are all the more prominent in those of trade and the consumption of luxuries. We allude to the immense purchasing power and expenditure on luxuries

which is in the hands of what is called "secret" prostitution. It may seem a bold thing to estimate the numbers and expenditure of this class of young women. We shall nevertheless attempt it. In 1906, on the introduction of the law abolishing public prostitution, there were in Copenhagen, according to the report of the Director of Police, 719 so-called public women, and secret prostitution, which was then at the outset of its development, afterwards so rapid, may be put at a couple of thousand at the most. The number has now risen to about 20,000 in Greater Copenhagen, or "only" one-twentieth of the women of the population. These 20,000 comprise the following five categories. Those of the first and most numerous live practically exclusively by selling themselves, even though, out of regard for the law of 1906, they camouflage themselves behind an "employment" or a husband. For—though only the police know it—there are many married women among them, since the law makes it difficult to catch a woman if she can point to her husband's income, even though as a fact she gets her money from many other men. The women of the next group practise prostitution habitually as a remunerative and presumably easy addition to their income. The third have an honest employment which is quite capable of supporting them, but have recourse to prostitution occasionally, and chiefly for the sake of adding to their wardrobe or getting money for amusements, holidays and so on. The fourth comprises the married professionals already mentioned, to whom marriage is not much more than a blind; and finally there is a fifth, less numerous category of women who

prostitute themselves for pleasure or from boredom, while their takings from this source are a secondary consideration.

Of the proceeds of this life among the various groups it is difficult to form any accurate idea. But let us reckon it experimentally at the low average of 2000 kroner per annum—many of these women earn and spend fortunes in the course of a year, others are content with a free supper. This gives 40 million kroner as the yearly earnings of secret prostitution in Greater Copenhagen, and we shall be well within the mark in reckoning that three-quarters of this is spent in luxury and amusement pure and simple, often of the most vulgar kind. This gives a luxury expenditure of 30 millions to be charged directly to the secret prostitution of Greater Copenhagen; we round it off at 50 millions for the whole country.

Thus economic Feminism directly burdens our country with about 150 million kroner a year in all,* or about three times as much as Danish militarism. As the various luxuries in demand with these women are for the most part manufactured abroad, the wage-earning, but not wholly self-supporting young woman certainly burdens the Danish trade balance with about 100 million kroner a year, or one-third of the total annual deficit.

The rest falls partly upon the young men, who certainly do their share; partly upon the married women of the well-to-do class.

The young men's complicity in our economic deficit

* Namely, one-third of the 300 million kroner (see above) spent openly, plus these 50 millions of furtive expenditure.

is to some extent involved in what we have just been discussing, since, of course, the takings of secret prostitution are derived for the most part from men, and especially from younger self-supporting men, who in the nature of things have far greater " free " resources at their disposal than their elders, who have families to provide for. Naturally we must not reckon this luxury expenditure twice over; but besides the money the young man spends on his woman, and she in turn spends on clothes and finery and amusements, he is involved in further personal expenditure—in smart clothes and other little extravagances which appeal to women of that kind. Thus the present system of easy and abundant access to *la femme anonyme*, as the French aptly and indulgently call her, is a main cause of the young man's heavy expenditure on luxuries. The public women of a former day were so few in number, and so strictly cut off from society economically and otherwise (they practically never took part in its amusements, etc.), that the system—I speak purely as an economist—was a burden neither to the community nor to its trade balance. Its abolition, on other grounds, in themselves justifiable, was due, as we know, to Feminism; and thus the great expenditure on its successor, secret prostitution, and all that it involves, may rightly be charged to economic Feminism.

One more section of our national economic deficit remains, namely that which falls upon many of the well-to-do married women, who frequently handle their husbands' money, both in housekeeping and otherwise, in an extraordinarily foolish way, of which sufficient evidence is furnished by the " Sales " of the

big drapery establishments and their advertisement campaigns based upon feminine psychology. But modern Feminist legislation must also be held mainly responsible for the growing consumption of luxuries thus brought about, since in the course of the last generation it has on the one hand, as everyone knows, weakened the husband's legal authority in the family, and on the other deprived him of all effective means of checking ill-advised expenditure on the part of his wife, his sons and his daughters. For instance, when children are over eighteen it is nowadays practically impossible to control them financially, except in cases where, in spite of the law, a peculiarly strong masculine personality enjoys such respect in his family that they follow the advice which is based on his industry, experience and responsibility. But this is rare, at any rate in the Scandinavian communities, where it is usually the wife and children who decide how the money earned by the husband is to be spent.

The only entirely good result which the Woman's Movement has, if not fostered, in any case entailed, is Woman's equal and unfettered opportunity of learning, not merely something, not merely many things, but for that matter anything she chooses. But even in this field most of the schools of Scandinavia have now acquired such experience of the necessity of specializing her education in conformity with her peculiar nature and abilities, that co-education is already condemned by all who are really in a position to know, unless in their hidebound Feminism they deny the facts. Or what shall we say to this statement from Norway, in *Vor Skole* (Kristiania, 1919, No. 45)?

" The Kristiania Schoolmistresses' Association must oppose most decidedly the introduction of co-education in the Kristiania National School, not only from considerations of education, but for practical reasons. The experience that has been gained has not brought to light the many advantages which the advocates of co-education had foretold. On the contrary, it has proved that boys and girls have had no favourable influence on each other, while co-education has placed obstacles in the way of education and training.

" Their peculiar aptitudes, development and divergent spheres of interest demand that the scholastic material should be prepared with special regard to boys and girls respectively. Experience shows that if an attempt be made in mixed classes to pay attention to the special aptitudes of boys or girls, the pupils find it tedious, and one side or the other shows slackness and inattention.

" Nor has it appeared that co-education fosters good comradeship or leads to a footing of greater confidence between teacher and pupils. Rather the contrary. It has proved that it may easily give rise to a somewhat constrained and unnatural feeling among the pupils themselves and in their attitude to the teacher. When the pupils leave the class-room, boys and girls form separate groups as a matter of course, since they continue their separate interests in playtime." *

* Similar opinions have been expressed in Sweden. See, for instance, an article by the gynæcologist Dr. Essen-Möller in *Sydsvenska Dagbladet*, quoted in his essay *Kvindens Aarhundrede* (" The Woman's Century ") by Professor Edvard Lehmann—one of the few men in Denmark who have had a sense of the significance of the matter.

In addition to this, co-education is harmful and obstructive to the boys, in any case in the higher classes, where the girls' physical maturity is already so far advanced that their psycho-erotic interests often directly or indirectly disturb their male schoolfellows.*

In saying this we are far from thinking that Woman in future should learn less, or have more limited opportunities of acquiring any knowledge she may wish. On the contrary, we could imagine general, compulsory education of all women (so far as they were in any way suited for it) to a standard not inferior to that of the present matriculation examination in Scandinavia. Only the material and the schedule of the school classes would have to be entirely revised and adapted in accordance with what has been said above as to the fundamental divergence of Woman's nature from Man's. It is a great mistake to stop the education of children, and particularly of girls, at fourteen, as this is precisely the age at which intelligence *begins* to arrive; receptivity of almost all kinds of knowledge is particularly strong between the ages of fourteen and eighteen, and those are just the years in which young people, especially of the female sex, are most liable to commit more or less irretrievable follies.

3. *Juridical Feminism.*

But the most disastrous result of the blind doctrinairism of Feminism (backed, unfortunately, by a certain

* One has only to study the normal correspondence between girls of fifteen or sixteen and compare it with the letters exchanged by boys of the same age. The former usually contain allusions to some fancy or other, the latter hardly ever; if a boy of that age takes a fancy to a girl, he broods over it in a silence that nothing and nobody can break.

number of men) is the gradual destruction of family life with the aid of modern matrimonial legislation, which little by little has deprived the father of the family of all real authority and weakened his influence in a perilous degree, especially as regards the bringing-up of the children, while at the same time opening the flood-gates to the unsocial and unmoral instincts of Woman. Unfortunately the Danish writers Harald Nielsen and Aage von Kohl are the only men in Scandinavia who have fully seen through the matter, and have opposed the utterly false ideals of modern matrimonial legislation and feminine morality with energy as well as with considerable special knowledge of the question. For details we must refer the reader to their books on the subject,* on the basis of which we shall here complete the main sociological outlines that we have kept in view throughout this work.

The North-European and Anglo-American Feminist agitation in the course of one generation has actually given the women of these countries, married or unmarried, equal rights with Man in practically everything, except in the disposal of the children and of the property of married couples. As regards property, however, the woman as a rule had the opportunity of securing herself either by settlements before marriage or by Married Women's Property Acts, giving her the disposal of her own earnings. But the latest Danish law goes the whole length, and makes Man and Woman

* See Bibliography, especially Kohl, *Vore Dötres Moral* ("Our Daughters' Morality"). Cf. also the chapter on "The Demoralization of Girls" in W. I. Thomas, *The Unadjusted Girl*, London, 1924, which contains a great deal of material on the subject.

to all intents and purposes juridically equal, also as regards the right of disposal of the children and of the joint property. What this means will be most clearly understood from two quotations, one from the most important among the promoters and spokesmen of the Bill, Professor Viggo Bentzon, the other from its most bitter opponent and critic, Harald Nielsen.

Professor Bentzon, long before the partial acceptance of the Bill (1922), writes as follows in his defence of the already bitterly attacked proposals of the Scandinavian Commission on Family Law: *

" Co-operation is made clear, and in a new way, in Chapter VI on parental authority. This is shared in common, cf. § 52 (16). They must try to agree—one party has no legal power to order the other. The children are as much the father's as the mother's. It is on this co-operation that the chapter lays stress. Recourse to authority, in cases where agreement is impossible (even after a struggle), is only a last resource. The Commission has considered it necessary for the sake of the children. It is thought that in the nature of the case it will only very rarely be resorted to. For these are only a narrow margin (few cases), lying between the majority of cases in which agreement is possible, and those, unfortunately not so very few, which inevitably lead to divorce.

" The Commission's conviction of the usefulness of the rule is supported by experience from Germany, where the wife is able to appeal to the court as soon as the husband's use of his legal preponderance becomes

* *Hvad nyt bringer Ægteskabsloven* (" What are the New Proposals of the Marriage Bill? "), pp. 12, 13. Copenhagen, 1920.

' an abuse of his rights,' and where in the twenty years during which the law has been in operation no complaint has been heard that the power of submitting intimate conjugal differences to the decision of a third party has had any prejudicial effect. Further, it must be pointed out that in certain poorer classes of the population, where the police often have to settle matrimonial disputes, where the wife has less hesitation in seeking the help of the police court against a brutal husband, and where the Children's Welfare Council is often compelled to step in—a recourse to authority may supply a natural method, milder in its operation; and experience of these cases seems to teach that many married couples nevertheless continue to live together, and that, fragile as their family life may be, neither of the parties is willing to abandon it. (Many critics forget that the Bill must not be regarded as drawn up with a special view to the upper classes, and lack the experience and the peculiar imagination which enable older practical jurists to estimate the effects of the Bill on the masses of the people, without being tempted to generalize from their personal experiences of matrimony.)

" Last but not least, a determined effort is made in the Bill to consolidate the interests of married couples in the immensely important provisions regarding property. A new way has been found—unknown elsewhere in Europe—of solving the double problem of leaving each party independent, and yet insisting on their joint interest. The exclusive control of the husband—which in a great many cases was already broken down by the married women's property laws—

is abolished, and in principle the wife is given equal control. The husband's freedom has been retained. In his business he is sole master, apart from the rules as to the disposal of house and furniture. Furthermore, the obligation of joint deliberation, which was demanded in so many quarters, and which in the business world would have prejudiced the married man in competition with the unmarried, has been avoided.

" On the other hand, the valuable part of our old law of community of property has been fully retained. This provides for an equal division at death, and also on separation or divorce; and it gives both parties an entirely equal interest in saving, no matter which of them may have contributed the means.

" This right of equal division is the most important of the ' marriage rights ' contained in the Bill."

The main content of Harald Nielsen's objections is to be found in the following sentences from the concluding chapter of his book *Moderne Ægteskab* (" Modern Marriage "):

" On reading the Report, with its constant use of the word ' equal,' one has the impression that our legislators are measuring out justice by the peck. It is not by chance, however, that the goddess of Justice holds scales in her hand, since with these it is not the size of the bags that counts, but the position of the tongue, which swings according to what is in the bags.

" But Woman's bag is weighed down by a whole range of heavy practical and psychological advantages, to which Man has nothing corresponding—and never

can have, however many laws may be passed. There is weakness in her bag, with which she can touch the heart, or behind which she can take cover when making a forward thrust; there is erotic attraction, with which she can ensnare; there is a pertinacity which in normal cases is not shattered by outside interests or duties, but above all there is her mighty influence over the home for good or evil. There is the fact, on which the Report lays so much stress, without understanding its wide bearing, that she spends nearly all her time in the home, that she looks after the children, that she decides hundreds of things, small and great, which concern them, advises them and guides them—in short, during the whole time the Man is away from home, she prepares the situation which will face him when he comes back.

"What does the Commission imagine he will have to set against this, when it deprives him of the 'authority' he now possesses? Perhaps it will be objected that even now he cannot control or influence what goes on, and that even now every man is daily faced with accomplished facts, great and small, as to which his protests avail but little. This is perfectly true, and it shows the immense power of Woman, which has hitherto never been doubted. But the fact that he possesses the parental authority and may conceivably exercise it, nevertheless gives some weight to his wishes, even when he cannot be present in person to protect his interests in the bringing-up of the children: so far, at least, as to convince her that she cannot lead the children dead against his wishes

without encountering his veto, when the divergence becomes too great and perceptible; that is, if he has the strength of character to enforce it and the question is of sufficient importance. In other words, parental authority is the protection of the absent breadwinner. Take it out of his bag and his side of the balance will instantly fly up, under pressure of the advantage which the wife has as *beata possidens*, as the one who is always on the spot and to a very important extent translates parental authority into action. It is for this reason that it has not been considered necessary in our legislation or in that of any other country to require him to consult her, since this is imposed by purely practical considerations; it is also for this reason that in 'real life' we see the woman deciding just as often as the man, since the prevailing order of things provides the balance, which will be disturbed if it is altered. And finally it is for this reason that the cases in which the husband uses his parental authority to thrust his wife aside are so glaring, since they can only happen in glaring circumstances—circumstances which are so exceptional in brutality, in want of consideration, in disagreement and finally in their peculiar economic aspect, that they lie far outside the normal with which we can reckon.

"Think what it requires merely to carry out what the advocates of the Bill hold up as a bogy—the arbitrary removal of the child from the home by the father! It is not surprising that examples are rare, for in practice this is not a very easy matter to accomplish, even given the will to do it. For, leaving entirely out of the question all consideration for the children,

which would prevent all but the merest brutes from dealing with them as inanimate and insensible objects, or for the children's feeling for their mother, which might make it impossible, or at any rate far from pleasant or expedient, for the father to carry out his object—even if we thus disregard the many stubborn psychological obstacles to the husband's exercising his formal right, the external difficulties in themselves will be sufficient to deter most men. For what is the man to do with the children, if he wants to take them away from the mother? As the Report rightly remarks, they are dependent on her; that is, he cannot simply let them look after themselves, and a man cannot look after them and at the same time go to his work. Unless therefore, besides fulfilling the psychical conditions demanded by the situation, he is sufficiently well off to be able to lodge the children with strangers, or unless, on the other hand, he lives in the slums, where such things are left to chance, he will simply not be able to bring off what is always held before us as an everyday, threatening possibility. Where should he find the money for it? How is he to find even the time? And how is he to get assistance? For the removal of children from their mother against her will is not a thing that can be done entirely unnoticed: the feelings and opinions of neighbours, relatives, fellow-citizens will be set in motion, and even if he have the most valid reasons for his action, he will discover in practice that 'equal' rights for Man and Woman do not exist—in any case, not in the world's judgment of their relations to the children, for *this will always be on her side in advance*. A wife who

leaves her home and takes her children abandons a husband whom it is impossible to live with; a husband who removes his children from the home is a monster whom it is impossible to live with. He will have the scandal, the disapproval, the scruples to contend with—even among his nearest relatives—and if he is unable to make a purely pecuniary arrangement with strangers to whom the affair presents no problems, it will therefore be more than difficult for him to carry it through.

"Far easier will it be for the wife, in spite of his 'rights,' to deprive him of the children. The removal of them in itself is neither so difficult nor attracts so much attention in her case as in his, and her chances of finding a refuge and help for them and herself are ten times greater than his of placing her children alone. Who would think it fair to separate a mother from her children? And what is more natural than that she should take them with her—are they not dependent on her?—when she can no longer stay with her husband? It is true that he has the formal right of demanding them back, but let him try it, and he will find himself faced by the same barbed-wire obstacles as if he had tried to exercise his 'right' of removing them from the home.

"But why speak of her chances of more easily carrying off her children, when her opportunities of doing so without leaving the home are far more obvious? Are not the children 'dependent' on her? Has she not the widest possible opportunities of winning them over, influencing them, estranging them from the father if she wishes, so that, when he tries to protect

his interests, he may be forced to do so in a form which to the eyes of a third party will appear arbitrary and unsympathetic?

"On the whole a proposal like this is based on a onesidedness and superficiality in judging men and women against which one is bound to protest, for now, as of old, Sly is loudly abused for drinking, without its being asked why he drinks. One thing is seen, but not the other. And this is another of the advantages in Woman's bag, that her fight as a rule is carried on beneath the surface, while Man's is exposed to observation and criticism. By a moral and practical 'hunger blockade' she can force him to employ means which arouse the world's indignation and gain for herself its sympathy.

"When so much indignation is shown about revolting examples of 'masculine aggression,' people as a rule forget to ask what has occasioned it. Or are we not to suppose that there are women who neglect their house, who spoil their children, who ruin their husband's finances and poison his existence? May we not believe that for each one of the few examples that can be cited of mothers who are deprived of their children through the parental authority which it is now sought to take away from the husband, there are just as many, and more, cases where he has lost them and been driven from house and home, thanks to the immense actual power which every wife possesses and which has been left entirely out of the reckoning?"

The reader who has followed the preceding chapters of this work will not have an instant's doubt that on

all important points it is Harald Nielsen who is right in protesting again and again that this law will destroy what is left to destroy of the possibility of Man's continuance in modern marriage.* He was only wrong in one of his conclusions, namely that men would be increasingly inclined to "strike" against marriage; that is, that they would avoid getting married, now that the facts of the situation are such that there is nothing, literally nothing, within the legal bonds of marriage which a man cannot get better and cheaper outside them.

The fact is that the character of monogamous marriage, instituted and maintained chiefly in the interests of Woman, of the children and of society, and especially the favoured position *actually* enjoyed by the wife—whose strength is greater the worse she is and the better the husband—cannot possibly be appreciated by any man who has not experienced it, and least of all by a young man at the age when most marriages are contracted. He will set his mind at rest with the thought that this "equality" will no doubt assure him as a decent man and her as a gentle and loving woman an existence at any rate tolerable, and as a rule even the strongest warnings will make little impression upon him, as upon all young people—and the tragedy of all pedagogues is the

* It will also be understood that it was a capital error to leave none but *jurists* plus women (of whom the Scandinavian Commission on Family Law was exclusively composed) to decide such questions as could only be determined on their merits by sociologists with a knowledge of the experience of all ages in the fields concerned. It would then have been the task of the jurists to give legal form to the true sociological principles of marriage.

impossibility of bringing home the lessons of life to the young—unhappily they will and must acquire them for themselves, except where the principle of authority is followed. But this again means that marriage in its present juridical aspect is a trap laid by the Feminists with the "eternal feminine" as bait; a trap from which only the few can escape who are rich enough to pay the price—the keeping up of two establishments; but scarcely one in a hundred can do this, especially as the woman has the right to half the joint estate, even though she has not contributed a penny, and even though she has done all she could to ruin the man materially as well as morally. The others, that is, practically all, are forced to put up with their lot—of slaving day and night for a woman of whose true nature they had no knowledge until after marriage, the more so as the whole feministic spirit of our age falsified their education by conjuring up an image of Woman utterly different from the reality. And when, on the first opportunity, this woman's true nature asserts itself and tries to appropriate the control not only of the children and joint fortune, but also of the husband's work, his person and his interests, even when, as is generally the case, she is totally unqualified to understand them—then one of two things happens: either, if he is a *Man*, he shows fight; but in that case she can sooner or later break his resistance, and that by means which no law can touch, even though they are so contemptible that no man would think of using them towards the vilest of women. For instance, she has only to rob him of regular sleep, and then even the greatest man is soon

done for.* How this can be managed in married life may be read in Strindberg's *Confession of a Fool*, where his wife coerces him by introducing animals into their bedroom, which, as is well known, is intolerable to higher natures, but by no means a sufficient reason for obtaining a divorce without expenses that would last a lifetime. And there are hundreds of other methods against which the husband is utterly defenceless, and which the grasping woman is quick to discover and has no hesitation in employing. The man who in such circumstances preserves his energy, his morale, his self-respect and his manly worth, and keeps up his opposition till the day arrives—if it ever does arrive—when he can afford to free himself from marriage—well, he must be more than a hero, far greater than a victorious general; and yet he will be looked at askance, wronged and annoyed by friends and foes alike, as a supposedly hard-hearted egoist, for turning out his wife and perhaps his grown-up children, who will have the sympathy of the world, which does not know, and will never find out, that they too were used by her early and late as factors in the fight against him. Don't tell me that I am setting up a bogy, an exaggerated picture made up of insignificant exceptions †—in the course of a lifetime I

* When Moreau, after Napoleon the best French general of his time, was suspected of royalism and persecuted by the revolutionary Government, he offered his pursuers, who were hunting him day and night, 20,000 francs, not to escape, but simply for six hours' sleep!

† On the other hand, Strindberg's criticism of Woman is exaggerated in many points, but in any case one of his psychical observations is as true as it is original: that Evil has no independent reality, and must therefore be a parasite upon Good

have seen too much male misery and female depravity in modern marriages, in Denmark, Germany, Norway and Sweden, to let myself be talked over. And where conditions are apparently harmonious or at least tolerable, they have as a rule become so because the husband, for the sake of a quiet life, has had to abandon the fight at the very outset. Most unpleasant, perhaps, are the cases where the man is not conscious of his misery; that is, where his suppression in the family has come about so slowly, though consistently, that his supersession and its consequences are not apparent to himself: many men are therefore greatly offended when they discover that their neighbours regard them as henpecked, since they have become so in the same way as a frog is roasted alive if you put it in a frying-pan and warm it so gradually that the growing heat does not reach its centre of consciousness. But the other case is the normal one: the male type of good ordinary intelligence, character, social standing and income—he soon discovers that marriage is no safe place for him and his activities unless he capitulates every time the wife disagrees with him and lets her have her own sweet will. Thus he is quickly demoralized, performs his most obvious and unavoidable duties in a perfunctory way and submits with growing indifference to the feminine domination to which existence, at any rate in Scandinavia, is now subjected in virtue of the modern adaptation of monogamy and its maintenance chiefly at his expense. Divorce

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in order to live; and that this is the explanation of the many bad women always trying to catch the best men, and of the few bad men being usually the ones who get the good wives.

legislation is to such a degree in his disfavour that he can usually be forced to pay his wife one-third of his yearly income, even if it can be proved that from the start the woman did all in her power to ruin their married life.*

It must now be obvious that the masculine psyche, and in particular the mental energy of the Nordic race—in other words, its future prospects—are thus substantially deteriorated, and that this deterioration can already be traced not only in most intellectual spheres,† but has for a long time had a fatal influence in the material and economic domain. And just because these facts are to some extent imponderabilia, which cannot be directly estimated and therefore cannot be proved in all their details, they are the more

* The husband cannot even have the marriage declared invalid on the ground of false preliminary assumptions; for instance, if he afterwards obtains conclusive evidence that his wife, without his ever suspecting it, had intercourse with a whole series of men before marriage. In Germany a man's divorce petition was dismissed in 1904, although (according to a very serious article in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* at the time) it was based on the fact that the wife before marriage had been addicted to perversities of the most revolting kind. The poor man thought that a woman with such a past, which, of course, he had never imagined in his wildest dreams, was unfitted to be the mother of his children. But even a wife like that cannot be got rid of, unless one has the money to buy one's freedom.

† One day when I was calling on a famous Danish author, he pointed to his bookshelf and asked me: "Do you see what I have there?"—"Yes," I said, "those are your complete works, most of which I have had the pleasure of reading."—"Very well, what is there on the next shelf?"—"It is perfectly empty."—"Just so," he replied; "it contains the works marriage prevented my writing, and they were the best."—Another colleague, for whose fertile production, especially in later years, I expressed great admiration, replied: "Well, you see, my wife died when I was forty-seven."—Both these men had to all appearance been what is called "happily" married.

dangerous, since they are thus easy to hide from the ordinary observer. In this way Feminism incorporates within itself almost all the insidious contributory causes of the general Gotho-Germanic decline which was hastened by the Great War, with the result that we are now involved in a cultural crisis which radically resembles the dissolution of Greek culture after the Peloponnesian War, only that the dimensions are now greater.

Now I hear a triumphant feminine shout proclaiming that after all it must be Man who is the idiot; * hasn't he accepted most of these laws involving his own abdication of family rights, and carried them at a time when he was as good as supreme politically and only under the pressure of a quite small, if aggressive, feminine minority? Gently, my dears. You are confusing, as usual, magnanimous idealism and the good nature which accompanies strength with ordinary stupidity, and moreover you forget to reckon with the possibility that Man may react at last, as has so often happened before when things got too bad for him. You have never understood that perhaps the most characteristic trait of the white man's psyche is his spiritual *perfectibility*, of which we have already spoken. He is possessed with a craving for freedom, an experi-

* That many women nowadays really regard Man in this way, for marrying them in the conditions imposed at the present time, appears from the following little story, which was told me by a third colleague: One of his Danish friends recently married a lady in Copenhagen society, and the papers had fulsome accounts of the charming, womanly, blushing bride, who went to the altar with downcast eyes, etc., etc. But the truth was that after the ceremony, before they were out of the church, she turned to her bridegroom and coolly flung the word "Idiot!" in his face. And—was she not right?

mental courage, a quick ear precisely for whatever is new; and this trait contains the secret of his leadership of the civilized world, but at the same time, it must be owned, the germs of weakness in the cultures he has founded. For this unexampled fineness of ear, coupled with his well-known love of liberty, makes him receptive to every new idea, every appeal, especially when it comes in the much-abused name of liberty and equality from the, at any rate apparently, weak and oppressed of society. Thus social as well as feminine legislation has been set going, assisted by the white man's misguided idealism; and once started, in spite of its obvious exaggerations, there was no stopping it, especially as the political system adopted at the same time—in Northern Europe, at any rate—gave all parties an interest in fishing for votes wherever they were to be had and by whatever means, lawful or otherwise. Thus there arose the increasingly successful struggle for Labour votes at the cost of the true interests of society, and for women's votes at the cost of those of Man and thus also of marriage.

But, while we cannot so much blame the Liberalism, and to some extent the Socialism, of a bygone day for this state of things, inasmuch as the leaders of these movements were for the most part idealists enough to believe in these false ideals, a heavy responsibility must rest upon Conservatism, which knew better and which, in these fields especially, has betrayed the deepest interests of society and of marriage; in fact, is often nowadays more feministically inclined than the other parties, because its women enjoy more leisure and luxury, and therefore get the domestic upper hand

more easily than the women of other classes. For this simple reason modern Feminism is less pronounced in our working population, not because its women are by nature different or better than the rest, but chiefly because most of them, like their husbands, have to work hard—often away from home—so that they are as much in need of peace, quietness and sleep as the men, and are therefore less inclined to indulge in gossip, intrigues, petty squabbling and fuss in general.

Naturally it is beyond the power of any legislation or any penalties that may be devised to change essential traits of human nature such as goodness, malice, love, hate, heroism, meanness, magnanimity, baseness, etc.; the most that can be aimed at in legal regulations is to limit certain abuses, certain encroachments on one side or the other, usually the stronger. It is beyond doubt that modern matrimonial legislation has succeeded in putting a stop to the faults sometimes committed by bad husbands towards more or less bad wives, but in so doing we have only arrived at a far more dangerous and ugly situation: not merely that more or less bad women now misuse the matrimonial laws against honourable and unsuspicious men, but what is worse: free play has been given to Woman's worst defects—barren domineering without ability, domestic tyranny without efficiency, cavilling without a sense of responsibility, unmorality, antisocial bent and materialism. The women of the past seemed better, because the system did not allow so much scope for the development of their defective sides; those of the present seem worse, because it allows these few qualities the mastery both over themselves and

their husbands. In reality, of course, there is no substantial difference, only the older system seems to us the lesser of the evils every social and domestic order—that is, any relation involving subordination—*must* entail; since the old system subordinated the *naturally weaker* (in every respect, as has been irrefutably proved in the foregoing) to the in every respect naturally stronger. Thereby the human values of both parties were retained to supplement each other within the same frame; whereas the modern system, by perverting this relation and by artificially—to a positively ridiculous degree—magnifying and reinforcing the weaker beyond all bounds, is simply ruining both sexes, and will lead sooner or later to open war between them. But in this open war against Man, Woman is bound sooner or later, when at last he becomes fully conscious of the reality of the danger, to suffer the most terrible defeat. In the long run she can only win by peace, taking the word in its deepest and most comprehensive sense; but *this peace* can only be reached through the natural subordination which need not be, and in the case of the white man, so long as history has known him and long before that, never has been synonymous with oppression; on the contrary. This and this alone is the reason why the older system, with the Man as the family's centre of gravity in every respect so long as he retains the duties and responsibilities connected therewith, seems to us best for Woman, as she is constituted. But also, for the external development of Man's full powers and abilities, a revaluation of recent hyper-feministically inspired legislation is a necessity. Without such re-

vision his work on behalf of the family cannot permanently be kept up to the standard, both in quantity and quality, necessary for the maintenance of his laboriously achieved level of culture, to say nothing of guaranteeing the white man's economic and cultural *progress* in the future. The matrimonial system which has now been established, at any rate in Scandinavia, not only leaves the husband actually at the mercy of the wife's discretion, but forces him in most cases to do battle on two fronts: *outwardly* throughout the working day in order to provide support for his family, defend its interests and prepare for his children's future; and the rest of the time in straightening out all the difficulties and all the opposition which the wife, supported by modern matrimonial legislation, *may* cause him both at home and abroad. It will be said that normally she will not do this, or at any rate not to a greater extent than before; but even this assertion rests on a fatal ignorance of Woman's normal nature. In the history of the human race *no weaker or inferior being has ever been able to support the acquisition of power and authority beyond his or her natural limitations.* No student of human nature therefore can help assuming that Woman—be it said without disparagement to all her good qualities *—will be less able than any other to support it.

* It will be said that we have not paid much attention to these good qualities of hers; but it must not be forgotten that practically all the rest of masculine literature nowadays treats of them, so we may assume them to be more than common knowledge. One, however, we will insist on: her unique services in all ages as a nurse in war and peace. The moral and physical strength she has shown in this way is not sufficiently appreciated by anyone, because it can never be valued as highly as it deserves.

The correctness of this assumption is again established by the way in which thousands of women in the countries of Europe and America, but above all in Northern Europe, are now attacking Man in speech and writing. Just at this time, when Woman has been given every concession, reasonable and unreasonable, and when her social status, married or unmarried, is better than it has ever been in the history of the world, there is being carried on, under the leadership of women whose names are known to all, an agitation against Man and the society created by him, so venomous and low-minded that any further proof of the reality of Feminist disasters must appear superfluous to everyone, unless he or she (like many Communists in Russia and elsewhere) *is consciously using the Feminist movement as a wedge for the destruction of the white man's world.* All the noblest and most vitalizing instincts of our race, all its notions of honour both in Man and Woman, all its brave idealism, is turned upside down in the aberrations of Feminism and sullied to an extent which has evidently given even the spokesmen of the earlier, more economic Feminism something to think about. In recent years we have come to this, that Man as such is ridiculed not only for giving in, as the craven he thus shows himself to be, but just as much when he ventures to protest: "Oh, listen to the mighty lord of creation complaining—so we women are the strongest, after all, if he finds himself in such a mess!"

If a tiger enters an elephant's stable, the elephant calmly crushes him with his foot or flings him to the ground with his trunk. But if a couple of little mice

come in, the proud and mighty beast trembles with fear; for it is the nature of the mouse to creep into the narrow nostrils of the trunk, which quickly leads to suffocation; and the elephant has such an instinctive sense of this danger that he generally sleeps with his trunk underneath him. Of a similar nature is the peril of the modern domination of Woman: she has gradually insinuated herself at the most vital point of all, Man's supremacy in the *home*, where he not only *must* have peace and immunity from attacks in the rear, but, besides that, a general atmosphere of impregnable security, if he is to accomplish anything of value outside; and in so doing she will be able by degrees to stifle his intellectual qualities, his physical, psychical and moral strength—in short, to destroy the whole of our civilization, nothing less. No woman will scorn the elephant for fearing, not the tiger, but the mouse—all the less as she shares this fear intensely, though for different reasons—but then she has still less ground for scorning or attacking the man who defends the absolute inviolability of masculine authority within the family and the married state as the necessary and immutable basis of all human progress. Doubtless Man's hegemony in the family and the home does not exclude the possibility of errors or abuses, but any other arrangement inevitably leads sooner or later to evils which are far more terrible, and in their consequences even fatal to Woman herself and her child, to civilization and society. In this fundamental sociological law we have deduced the results of the premises set forth in the preceding six chapters.

This law has been violated in our time as never

before, until the white man now finds himself in his matrimonial relations with the white woman in just the same position as the lion in Æsop's fable who fell in love with a woman. In her fear of his superior strength she insisted that he should lay aside not only his claws, not only his terrible jaw, but the whole of his vigour, before she dared have anything to do with him. But when the noble beast had complied with her wishes, she fell upon him and flayed him! Or in a less tragic story of the present day: A young man was engaged to a young woman, whom he dearly loved and whose praises he sang early and late. When this had gone on for six months, she asked him one day: "Tell me, my dear, do you mean any of the nice things you have said and written to me?"—"Of course," replied the young man, slightly taken aback at the strangeness of the question.—"Well, but then I am *much* too good for you. Here's your ring back, and thank you so much for the delightful times we've had together."

4. *The Propaganda of Sterility.**

We have now reached the last phase of feminine emancipation, in which an assault is made on Woman's special function as the renewer of the race and its biological source of power.

Present-day Feminism has brought forward two propositions on the question of the married woman and her position in society. The first of these, about a generation ago, was to the effect that men were in a decided minority and therefore Woman could not

* Sometimes called "Voluntary Maternity."

always fulfil her natural destiny in a marriage; for this reason she had to learn a trade or profession. If after all she married, she could either give up her occupation or, on the other hand, she could keep it and thereby assist the family economically by her work outside the home.

So far as Woman's training for certain accomplishments does not remove her too far from her nature, no one can have any great objection to this idea, in any case so long as there are no children. As a rule, however, the fact is overlooked that the economic advantages of the woman's independent contribution to the home are not so great as is commonly supposed. In a great number of such cases, where the woman works away from home, it means that her absence obliges her either to procure help in the housekeeping, or to buy such provisions as can be prepared quickly. But this class of provisions is far dearer in proportion to the nutritive value contained, and the housekeeping of a home where the woman is absent for the greater part of the day is beyond comparison more expensive than it would be if she were constantly on the spot. It is true of a great number of cases that if married women would give up their independent earnings and devote their whole time and energy to the affairs of the home, it would soon be found that the material value of their work was just as great as what they formerly earned outside. And here I am taking no account of the moral and educational values which are lost through the constant absence of the wife and mother from her home and children. In any case it is obvious that women with many children cannot with advantage

undertake any outside work on a large scale. And as most women are married sooner or later (practically all might be, if their material and other demands on marriage were not stretched to so high a pitch in our day) and have children, the claims of feminine emancipation for a more "independent" and "higher" development of Woman's personality must stand or fall in the last instance with a radical limitation of the number of children. Nor has the modern Woman's Movement shrunk from this last and most dangerous consequence of its theories, but has, in fact, started a violent agitation in England, Germany, Denmark and Norway for the methodical limitation of births by artificial preventives or other yet more perilous means. And medical skill in this department is nowadays sufficiently high to secure any limitation that may be desired, especially where intellectualism and individualism have overcome healthy instincts and feeling for the race. It is therefore necessary to consider what will happen to a community whose birth-rate sinks below a certain level.

To avoid being misunderstood I must here premise that as a political economist I am perfectly well aware of the material, geographical and political difficulties in the way of an extension of the population in our relatively poor and distressed continent. I also respect certain tendencies in the old Scandinavian peasant families, for instance, who in some districts have sought by comparatively late marriages and a certain moderation to adapt the size of the family more or less to the possibilities of support and extension offered by their farms. Broadly viewed, the

country population of Scandinavia has hitherto been accustomed to shed its surplus abroad; in old times in the form of mass migrations and viking raids, in modern days by emigration oversea, especially to America. It looks now as if this last resort will be closed, and as there are also limits to the capacity of the towns for absorbing excess population, we are here faced by a problem, perhaps the greatest of all social-economic problems, which was the subject of my first more important work (1908): *Formerelse og Fremskridt* ("Increase and Progress"). How each individual family proposes to meet this state of affairs, what restraint they think it necessary to impose on themselves as regards increase, must be a question of their responsibility to God and their conscience. But a more or less public, unbridled Feminist agitation in favour of a wholesale movement for restriction of births must be repugnant to every enlightened man, since such propaganda will lead to even greater disasters than any other onslaught of the emancipated women.

In his well-known work on the Swedish nobility, the lately deceased Swedish political economist, Pontus E. Fahlbeck, discusses the question of how many children the average family must contain in order to secure the permanence of a nation in a purely numerical respect. Two children to a marriage, which some regard as the ideal, is obviously not enough, since a good many die before attaining a marriageable age; others never marry, and finally there is a not inconsiderable number of sterile unions. Fahlbeck arrives at the result that about four children to a marriage is

the minimum, if the nation is to be assured of even a modest numerical progress. It is certain that a consistently carried out two-children system, in Sweden for instance, would cause the population to drop in the course of a hundred years to half its present numbers, or about three millions instead of six; and even a further reduction of the mortality would have no great effect on this result. Something similar would hold good for Norway and Denmark. In Germany, where the mortality is higher, the two-children system would halve the population in the course of seventy-five years. France has already reached the point where the number of deaths is as great as that of births; in certain Eastern States of America the mortality is even higher than the birth-rate. Something similar is true of many city communities.

The dangers here present are so obvious that I shall pass by the question of quantity and that of the utility or necessity of an increase of population, and take four, or exceptionally three children per marriage as perhaps sufficient to *secure the maintenance of the race.*

These average figures are only half as high as the number of children per marriage in the days of our grandparents; the decline has been very rapid in all Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon countries, especially during the last generation. Nevertheless a family of four children is enough to occupy a married woman fully, both physically and psychically, during her best years, let us say from twenty-five to thirty-five. Fully recognizing that it is thus her function as the renewer of the race which handicaps Woman in relation to

Man, a certain section of the feminine emancipationists are now trying to clear this last obstacle. They have opened an agitation to allow the married woman herself to determine how many, or rather how few, children she will have, and for giving women instruction in and the right to use various devices, ranging from the wholly scientific to the semi-criminal, in order to evade the natural consequences of connubial and erotic relations. It is true that the underlying Feminist idea is not expressed; on the contrary, it is screened by humanistic and tendencious phrases, but is detected for all that: the desire is by this means to limit the number of children to one or two to each woman, with the idea of liberating in her a multitude of forces which she is to apply to some "higher" purpose than bearing and bringing up children. What this higher purpose is we have already seen when discussing the American woman's movement.

This limitation of the number of children, however, first to four or three and then perhaps to two or one per marriage, also involves qualitative dangers to the race. For limitation implies that the first-born, or more correctly births Nos. 1 and 2, will entirely predominate in a population which thus makes use of artificial sterility. In order to remove our misgivings on this point it would be necessary to prove that the first numbers in the series of births possessed on an average the same physical and psychical qualitative value as the later numbers. But there are many indications that the converse is nearer the truth. The first-born are often afflicted with infirmities which the later-born escape. First births are well known to be

the most difficult, and for this reason there are many stillborn cases among them; they are (other things equal) under weight, and they are generally the offspring of young mothers, who may have reached maturity, but have not yet attained their physical and psychical maximum, which among Scandinavian women at any rate does not lie between the ages of twenty and thirty, but between thirty and forty. There is, therefore, a certain probability that a relatively larger number of well-equipped individuals, capable of resistance, will be found among, say, birth-numbers 3, 4 and 5 than among Nos. 1 and 2. This cannot be proved, but in reality the burden of proof lies with those who agitate for violent artificial interference with Nature. Does anyone seriously believe it to be purely fortuitous that Nature has endowed all races of mankind with such strong instincts of propagation that the number of children in all ages, among all healthy peoples, has usually been twice as high as is strictly necessary on purely *numerical* grounds? May not the meaning of this be that the Frenchman Bertillon (the elder) was right in saying: *Pour avoir la qualité il faut avoir la quantité?* But if this be the case, the two-children system will quickly ruin the race, not only quantitatively, but also qualitatively.

In addition to this the biological research of last century has shown us that Nature in all her forms and phases seems to have no other qualitative principle than that of constant prodigality of all that we call life. These lives are then forced to struggle against one another for room to develop in an environment which offers more or less limited possibilities; and one

need not be a Darwinist to hold that what we call biological and racial progress depends in the first place on the results of this struggle.

In contradistinction to the Darwinists, who usually see something exalted and mighty in this law of Nature, I find this operative principle not only murderous but irrational, and I am therefore quite incapable of sharing the materialists' enthusiasm for the so-called wonders of Nature. For they have only been gained at the expense of an everlasting waste of fertility, associated with an unceasing destruction of life, in which no thoughtful person can find anything exalted. Furthermore, the results produced are by no means always practical, and when they are so, the time occupied in arriving at them is so immensely long that only a superficial observer can feel impressed by the forces which govern the world accessible to us in this life.* We shall see this at once by an examination of a mammal fairly closely related to us, namely, the whale. It is particularly interesting from a technical point of view to study the whale's locomotive apparatus, the tail, its structure and function. We shall then certainly find that the tail of the whale with its horizontal fin in combination with the vertical force of the backbone and the caudal vertebræ gives the most perfect form of movement and the most serviceable power for propulsion in water. This, combined with

* Lest this train of thought should mislead anyone into pessimism, it may be remarked in passing that this world visible to us need not by any means be the *real* world; and that it is taken for granted, on account of the imperfection of our organs of sense alone, that "this world" represents an infinitely small fraction of existence.

the size and shape of the animal, is the main reason why the whale reaches a velocity which is far greater not only than that of the other marine mammals (seals, sea lions, etc.), but also than that of the most rapid swimmers among fish.

A more intimate study of palæobiology shows us that once in the dawn of the ages various other vertebrates transferred their sphere of life and operation from the land or the coasts to the open sea, and all of them (various saurians, fish-lizards, turtles, seals, etc.) were faced by what I may call the evolutionary-technical problem of fashioning for themselves a body which should offer the smallest possible resistance to the water, and a locomotive apparatus which should provide a maximum of effective power. Among hundreds of diversified species, among thousands of attempts, only a single one arrived at perfection, namely, that of the whale.

But even this single perfect type was only won by millions of years of prodigal fertility, amid ceaseless struggles for existence and attempts at adaptation to environment; and even this type is, as we know, nearing extinction, since the whale must now surrender to man. For after all it had one weak point: that of being obliged to come to the surface fairly often for breathing; and since the adoption of fire-arms and steamships by whalers, this was enough to prove fatal, all the more as the whale's last protection, invisibility under water, will now be taken from it by the use of aeroplanes and wireless to discover and report its position below the surface.

But before the whale completely disappears we may learn much from it, especially by comparing its motive

equipment with that of other sea-going vertebrates past and present. We can trace the development of these animals' bodies in many directions. In some the tendency is to lose the tail and retain fairly powerful fore and hind limbs, with which the animal rows itself forward to some extent—a very imperfect principle, as every mechanician knows. In others, on the contrary, it takes the form of a reduction of fore or hind limbs, usually combined with an ever-increasing development of the tail. This tail development becomes stationary in many species in the principle of the vertical caudal fin, as in the ichthyosaurus.* This locomotive principle is faulty for several reasons; I shall here only mention a mechanical one which everyone can understand. When the caudal fin is constructed vertically, the beats of the tail must go from side to side in order to give propulsion; but for these side movements neither the skeleton nor the muscles have the necessary power, as the best developed articulations of the tail are also placed vertically. If there is to be proper force in the side-stroke of a tail, the greatest osseous and muscular reinforcements must be placed at the sides; and conversely, when the construction of the vertebral column gives the maximum of force in vertical movements, the caudal fin must project and be placed horizontally, for then it can operate by powerful strokes in a vertical direction. And it was precisely this principle that the development of the whale brought to a more successful issue than that of any other marine animal.

* Othenio Abel, *Die Eroberungszüge der Wirbelthiere in die Meere der Vorzeit*, Jena, 1924, p. 18.

But what an amount of suffering and blood it has cost Nature merely once to arrive at such a result in the case of a single animal. A more profound reflection seems, therefore, to show that all the apparently realistic talk of Nature's wisdom and adaptation to function is at the best only justified with much qualification.

But from all this it results that there is no reason to suppose that Nature should have gone to work more easily or more mercifully in the experiments and methods which presumably resulted at some period or other in *homo sapiens*. If, we might say, Nature had so much trouble in putting a proper tail on a whale, what ages of co-operating forces must have been required to produce a proper head on man. I mentioned one of the necessary conditions in a former chapter: the white woman's broad and deep pelvis, which allows the passage of larger heads than in most other races. Another circumstance of special bearing on the question of the birth-rate is that the animal types of the past appear to have become extinct not only in periods when competition was too great or external conditions too difficult, *but also when the external conditions of life improved to such an extent that almost the whole offspring, including all deficient types, grew to maturity.* The reason probably was that the whole race was thereby weakened for want of sufficient selection (which in Nature usually means a high birth-rate and a high mortality), so that at the next turning in the line of evolution it collapsed at the first assault of more difficult conditions, which are bound to come, in the case of both men and animals.

But what else is the aim of the agitation for artificial sterility but to reduce the supply of human beings as far as possible, in the delusion that conditions will thus be made so much better, not only for the individual, but even for the whole race? This is utterly impossible: *between the strength and welfare of the individual and that of the race there is an intrinsic conflict*, which we human beings must resign ourselves never to overcome. But instead of the manly recognition of this fact, we now find in all the Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon countries a whole literature of feministic trash wherein are depicted the most beautiful idylls telling us how nicely Mamma and Papa can look after one or two children, turn them into perfect beings with the help of mixed schools for girls and boys, give them an elaborate theoretical education, leave them plenty of money and altogether transform the world into a paradise.

Reality presents a very different appearance. It shows plainly enough, in accordance with the hard evolutionary laws of biology, that great and strong men and women are more likely to be found in families of many children, where poverty, thrift and accommodation to the claims of the others has hardened in time the character and the powers, so that we may say that a man is not what he is in virtue of the success he has achieved, but rather in virtue of the adversity he has had to overcome. The whole history of Scandinavia appears to me to prove the truth of this. It is not a peculiarly philanthropic law, but I cannot help that, and in contradistinction to the Darwinists I can very well see the cruelty and stupidity involved in it. But

there is an old saying that we have to walk the earth even if it is red-hot, and in the same way everyone must accept the consequences of the natural laws to which we are subject, and not imagine and try to persuade others that He or She is capable of creating better conditions on earth by crossing Nature in this fundamental respect. Nature will quickly exterminate the people or race who do not acknowledge this, or revenge herself on them with other misfortunes, far more dangerous than those He or She thought to escape by all kinds of artifices. The utter confusion of ideas prevailing among the prophets of artificial sterility is shown by the fact that most of the champions of an artificial limitation of births come from Darwinist circles. Thus they have a blind belief in the creative and enhancing significance of selection and the struggle for life in the case of all living creatures —man alone excepted!

It only remains to cast a glance at Woman herself, the emancipated woman, and in particular the new forces which in the view of the Feminists she was to gain by in future only bearing one or two children, if she felt herself destined for something higher, or perhaps none at all, if she felt herself destined for the highest. Does anyone believe that Woman, whose nature and physique have been adjusted for millenniums to bearing as many children as possible, is at all capable of diverting the forces liberated by a limitation of children to anything else, let alone something better or higher? It is not very probable, nor do we find a sign of it anywhere, either in France or in North America. And this is not very strange to a

scientific view: the immense physical and psychical potentials, or, if it be preferred, the integral of all the forces connected with a repeated function of all Woman's special organs and peculiar metabolism, cannot, of course, be imprisoned by abstract reasoning. If, nevertheless, violence be done to a natural action of these forces, which can best be discharged by a sufficient number of births, then it is to be expected that the equilibrium of Nature will be destroyed in one way or another. Look at the women with few children, see how their whole life and conduct is marked by a restlessness without aim or purpose, a constant change of interests, of sympathies, of fashions—an activity without plan, like that of the American woman; without profundity, without intensity and without spiritual fertility. On a closer view we discover, especially in childless women, many psychical disorders, which often border on folly or positive insanity. The critical years in which Woman passes out of her functions and into natural sterility ("the dangerous age") are also evidence that the harmony of her being is connected above all with the birth of children, and usually cannot be transferred to anything better. The forces imprisoned by artificial sterility disturb and poison an often otherwise normal feminine psyche, and there are many who think that feminine emancipation itself in its inmost core is nothing but a general symptom of such spiritual poisoning in a minority of women who for various reasons have not attained to full natural development of their specifically womanly powers.

The sphere in which Woman can best find a release

for her instincts of maternity and love, perhaps otherwise unsatisfied, is that of nursing children and the sick, in which she has worked wonders. Some are no doubt justified in working in other spheres, especially great artists; but these will always be the exceptions which confirm the natural rule.

An attempt on a large scale to explain the whole modern movement for feminine emancipation as due to causes of sexual pathology has recently been undertaken by Eberhard in his work, *Die Frauenemanzipation und ihre erotischen Grundlagen*. A study of the immense material he has collected in corroboration of this view is much to be recommended.

5. *Positive Contributions of the Woman's Movement.*

If in the face of all the negative results of Feminism pointed out in the foregoing we could now show a number of positive contributions, whereby Woman's peculiar powers, psyche, emotional life, etc., had added favourable impulses or perhaps even new forces to modern society, something would have been gained after all, in return for all we have already lost.

But it appears to me impossible, even to a well-disposed and optimistic view, to find any peculiar, significant, *womanly* contribution at the present day. Women's participation in municipal or parliamentary life has either made no mark at all or has had the indifferent result of doubling the number of votes in most parties. The clumsy machine of democratic government has gained nothing one way or the other by women being dragged into the political machinery,

which continues to thresh straw as diligently as ever. I am not aware of any sign that the entrance of women into political life has rendered it more fruitful in any way. A recent sensational occurrence in the Danish Folketing would incline one to say: Rather the reverse.

In this assembly a member of the Conservative party, Mrs. Mathilde Malling-Hausschultz, brought forward and defended a proposal to make abortion permissible for every woman, provided it were carried out during the first four months of pregnancy. She added that if she went no further, it was because "I can quite well see that it would be dangerous to go the whole length at once." * Let me add that Mrs. Malling-Hausschultz is a graduate of law, belongs to the best circles and has thus enjoyed as good an education as any man can have. But, as we see, this is of no avail; on the contrary, we might exclaim with one of my students: "No ordinary ignorant woman would have thought of such a thing."

Such optimism is unfortunately not altogether justified, since we have already seen corresponding phenomena in Norway, where a meeting of women Communists passed a resolution demanding impunity even for infanticide in certain circumstances, when committed within twenty-four hours of birth.

No healthy man or woman will characterize this feminine contribution as salutary; rather do such tendencies confirm the old rule that when once women are infected by demoralization, they sink lower than any man.

The fact is that Emancipation disroots a great

* Quoted from *Köbenhavn*, March 24, 1925.

number of these women in a moral sense, and this rootlessness leads in the case of the warm-blooded to the dangers described in the previous section, while other sides of female animalism are let loose in more frigid natures. "The only thing which differentiates the emancipated Germanic woman of to-day from her sister of ancient Rome is that with the latter sensuality was predominant; while with the former, the daughters of a colder climate, other instincts dormant in the human animal gain the upper hand." * And Dr. Heilborn, who writes these words (*op. cit.*, p. 133), is nevertheless influenced by Feminism, inasmuch as he still seems to believe that in the course of a few thousand years Woman may be made into something different from what she is to-day.

Woman's contribution in the economic field has already been exhaustively treated in Dr. Elon Wikmark's pioneer work of 1904,† and the last twenty years have proved him right in almost every respect. Only very few highly gifted exceptions among women have been capable of filling satisfactorily positions of trust which demand independence, judgment, objectivity and other specifically masculine qualities. For two generations most employments in Scandinavia have been open to women, and as, owing to their fewer natural needs, they are usually cheaper to employ than men, they would everywhere have ousted the latter under the prevailing capitalist system (which is run

* The parallel holds good in many respects: as we know, many animals kill their new-born young, or abandon them, especially when their natural mode of life is disturbed. Among domestic animals we frequently find anomalies of this kind.

† See Section 2 of this chapter.

on profit-making lines) if, in spite of much industry and efficiency, they had not been deficient in so many psychical and physical respects that it still pays or is actually necessary to employ men at a higher rate of wages.

And yet the technical and economic development of our age is more favourable to women and their qualities than any that has preceded it.

It has been repeated *ad nauseam* that one of the characteristics of the last century is a constantly increasing division of labour, coupled with a specializing of processes and a general mechanization. Owing to her special qualities Woman is better fitted than Man to become a link in these industrial methods. They demand a great quantity of cheap and not very expert labour, in which the main thing is attention to detail and monotonous repetition of movements entailing no great exertion, without independent reflection or strong initiative. Into such employments Woman has swarmed by the thousand, since the woman of average gifts by her nature becomes a part of a machine more easily than the average man. I am not forgetting the special position occupied by many highly gifted women, whose mental qualities, as I have shown, extend a certain distance into the masculine sphere of intelligence, so that a not altogether inconsiderable number of women is to be found who in many intellectual fields at any rate are superior to the average man. According to my working hypothesis the level of intelligence of about one per cent. of women is above the good masculine average level, without ever rising so high as that of the highly

gifted men. I too consider such women equally fitted with men to receive the highest intellectual education and entitled to compete with men of talent for most of the better professional positions. And, in fact, we find a number of them as physicians, teachers, business directors and secretaries, telephone and telegraph superintendents, students, and finally as chiefs of certain public offices, where they often perform good and conscientious work, which nobody, not even I, would think of withholding from them.

What I raise my voice against is merely the false conclusion of Feminism, that most women can do likewise, if we only allow them time, a generation or two. These illusions are based on a misconception of the masculine and feminine types of intelligence, which are to be regarded as two fixed points about which men and women are grouped, though with certain transitions, at any rate in some spheres. But this specific form of intelligence is inseparably connected with the sex character, especially as it is disclosed in the functions of the cerebrum, and there is no indication that these sexual types and their essential functions have undergone any alteration during the period in which we can trace the development of European man. In particular there is no indication that the feminine psyche in the course of millenniums has approached nearer to Man, except in so far as Woman tries to imitate him in what she otherwise calls his bad qualities, especially in the sexual domain, as we have already seen.

If we dwell, however briefly, on Man's intellectual superiority, we are sometimes met by reproaches from

the opposite camp for masculine self-assertion and arrogance. In this connection, therefore, I beg to draw attention to the fact that the attack on Man and the denial of his irreplaceable qualities was started by the Feminist side and carried on so long that it has become necessary once more to put things in their right place: that is, Man as No. 1, and Woman as a —frequently, we must admit, very good—No. 2. And I shall not omit to add that it is precisely the consciousness of this which in all ages has made the white man ready to protect the woman and the family against the consequences of her natural inferiority in many respects. This sense of duty has usually been the stamp of nobility in our race, and it will be strengthened in proportion as Man feels and is conscious of his superiority. This was already remarked by Aristotle.

It is, therefore, an error to believe, as do the leaders of Feminism, that Woman through emancipation and equality of rights will hold her own in opposition to Man, irrespective of her sex. On the contrary, the carrying out of this principle will lead sooner or later to a considerable diminution of Woman's chances in the struggle for existence, with really free competition in fully equal conditions. Nor is it true, as the Feminists have often asserted, that after all women could do without men, while men could never build up a society without women. Let us just for argument's sake see where this will carry us.

We will imagine first that mankind is unisexual and feminine, and that this woman-unisex is like the woman of the present day, with the sole difference that she reproduces herself by budding or by fission,

as with some creatures low down in the scale of creation. It would then certainly be seen in the course of a few generations that not only would all higher culture, poetry, music, philosophy and all deeper religion, crumble away and disappear, but the women in the long run would not even be able to preserve the material foundation of society. For this foundation, as human beings increase in number, rests more and more on a steady development of science and technics, whereby in the main the men have succeeded by a mighty effort in wresting from a niggardly Nature a place for their constantly growing populations. But of independently creative and technically inventive women scarcely one is to be found to hundreds of men possessed of these qualities.*

On the other hand, if we imagined our human race to be unisexual and masculine and to reproduce itself similarly by unisexual means, without any reference to a non-existent female sex, the reverse would be the case. Other things being equal, science and art, inventions and technics would flourish exactly as before, and life would take its course undisturbed by women's chatter and feminine emancipation. Among the Greeks of antiquity we occasionally come across a masculine sigh for a supposedly harmonious condition such as this; thus Jason in the *Medea* of Euripides: "Ah, if man were able to beget children in some other way and the female sex did not exist! Then were the human race set free from all its sufferings."

* Anyone requiring further proof of this may find it, for example, in Heyman, *Die Psychologie der Frauen*, Groningen, 1924: but what has already been said regarding America ought to be enough to convince any unprejudiced person.

I am ready to admit that an existence of this sort without women might appear dull to many men; but it may be supposed that Man, if he felt the want in such a world of, let us say, entertainment or variety, would know how to create it; and if he still felt the want of a woman, he would doubtless end by inventing something answering thereto, equipped with all the qualities that suited him, and free from the faults that now give him trouble! We introduce this jocular turn in order to deal with the favourite Feminist assertion that Man himself is to blame for Woman as she is; since she must be Man's creation in the sense that he, being the stronger and the selecting agent throughout the centuries, has had an influence on the formation of the whole feminine type, and to this extent is himself answerable for it.

Let us now examine this assertion in the light of an analysis of the most powerful feature of the feminine psyche; namely, the trait which psychologists call *emotionality*. This expression denotes a psychical mobility, a certain impressibility and sensibility, which, however, must not be confused with *feeling*. According to psychological researches emotionality (which also occurs in men, but in a less degree and in a different way) is closely connected with the following qualities: greater capriciousness, anxiousness, hesitation, fear, long after-effects of grief, short after-effects of anger, craving for variety, frequent change of sympathies, risibility, restriction of consciousness, affectibility and sexual intuitive power; and further, with these qualities: debility of reason, abhorrence of abstractions, instinctive apprehension, sudden irascibility, sense of

the family, dexterity, vanity, domineering spirit, gratuitous pity coupled with cruelty, love of exaggeration, trustworthiness, sense for religion and proneness to psychical disturbances.

Of these twenty-six qualities, which every student of human nature will admit to be pre-eminently feminine, only three or four at the most can be regarded as really desirable and sought after by the normal type of Man. Men have certainly never chosen women according to these for the most part very dubious qualities, but, on the contrary, have for ages done their best to remedy, both in private life and public law, such defects of the feminine psyche. If in spite of this they have not been more successful than we see to-day, this fact proves once more to superfluity that these qualities are inseparably connected with and rooted in "the eternal feminine," so that we men, without being answerable for them, are nevertheless compelled to take them as part of the bargain. And in fact men have always done so; but the wisest of them have therefore ordered society and the management of the family in such a way as to allow as little scope as possible in vital matters for Woman's baser qualities, and, on the other hand, as much room as may be for the free exercise of her more valuable ones, and in particular of all such as pertain to true motherliness.

6. *Conclusion.*

And now we have at last reached our journey's end, since now we possess all the data for answering the question which twenty years ago started my whole

investigation of the subject, and which the Japanese doctor * formulated as follows: "*Why do you European men treat and regard your women with such respect, often amounting to adoration?*" Hitherto it has never been possible to give the answer, for the precise reason that the man interrogated always—but in vain—instinctively tries to find the explanation in some characteristics or superiorities of the white woman; whereas the truth, hitherto overlooked, is that the answer is only to be found *in a quality peculiar to the white man himself*, a fundamental trait of his character, which certainly distinguishes him above any other race on earth, but which, in the civilizations he has founded, especially in their periods of decadence, has already been many times abused by his female partner to a degree that has contributed to, if not brought about, the ruin of these civilizations.

And this fundamental trait is an idealistic desire innate in him, a fervent hope that he may find in Woman, or at least in some one woman, not indeed his equal, but a being of like disposition and intimately akin to himself; that he may find not merely a female, but also a companion, not merely a good mother for his children, but also a never-failing friend in good or evil fortune—in short, the *helpmate* Man is said to have been promised in the Garden of Eden, but never got, and for whom he alone of the men of humanity is still longing. The Oriental of every shade has long ago given up this hope, if he ever entertained it, and this longing, if he ever felt it; he only looks for *one* thing in Woman, namely that which every woman has

* See above, Chapter I, p. 2.

to give, and he is never disappointed. Or try to explain to an Arab, a Chinese, a Japanese, a Malay or an Indian—not to mention a negro—that we white men have constructed the most important part of our civilization on the assumption that in all essentials Woman is a being homogeneous with Man, from whom we go so far as to expect qualities not elsewhere to be found in this harsh and unjust world! If you ever succeed in making him comprehend what you really mean, what you are looking for and what you expect, he will either feel profound pity for you as an incurable madman, or he will laugh you to scorn as an incorrigible fool. But just as the white man has not been able to efface the image, which obviously still haunts him, of a woman who is his peer, so he has striven for millenniums in the hopeless enterprise of realizing this image, trying—in some measure, at least—to give life to his dream of Woman; and in all the civilizations he has founded he has done this, not only by being far kinder to her than the men of other races, but by treating her in family life practically as though she *were* his equal; and all this in the latent, half-subconscious hope of in this way *forming* at last a type of Woman that has never yet existed save as a saintly exception. On this theme Dr. Ernst von der Recke, like the incorrigible romanticist he is in his poetry (and thank Heaven for it!), has written some of the most beautiful and profound of recent verses:

> "Thou mirror clear, bride of my dreams,
> Gem with soft radiance glowing!
> My every thought from thee springs forth,
> Like a stream from its source outflowing.

The forest forgets its springtime fair,
By winter tempests shaken;
But forget thee—ah no, that can I ne'er,
Till the stream has its source forsaken.

The hawk may seek its nest at even,
But my longing must ever mourn;
I ne'er shall regain my treasure lost,
Till the stream to its source return."

It would be impossible to describe with more manly resignation the white man's age-long quest for his mate, and this poet, like many other seers, appears convinced that the quest is in vain. It is quite another matter that this idealistic yearning has acquired great artistic and historical significance as the inspiration of no mean part of the poetry of our race. But as the wish is father to the thought, so in life poetry is often mistaken for reality, and in this way, as well as from the humane most-favoured treatment which we accord to our women in everything, including those things which do not pertain to her, there has arisen in our everyday consciousness a belief that she really *is* our peer in a truer sense than, let us say, the Arab, Japanese or Malay woman is the equal of *her* husband. This overestimation, suggested by our whole intellectual *milieu*, is the greatest hindrance to a sober-minded apprehension of what may be expected and demanded of Woman in our communities; and correspondingly the resulting illusions are the best allies of Feminism, even though most men in the course of their lives arrive at a correct understanding. But such wisdom, the fruit of experience, can hardly beget the needful practical consequences nowadays, so long as democracy insists more and more in placing power in the hands

of the young, a folly hitherto never essayed by any age, any society or any species of democracy.*

There is, however, to be found in the white race a single type, confined within narrow limits, of men who never give up the hope of finding the bride of their dreams, but seek her persistently among all the multitudes of women they meet on their way through life. No rebuff can stop them, no faithlessness paralyse them, no disappointment deprive them of the belief that somewhere, some time, in one existence or another, She must be found, who yields nothing to him in any point of Man's nature, without, however, *resembling* him in the least degree. This is the type described from our race's consciousness of its inmost self in the legend of Don Juan, which is not, as tritely interpreted, the story of the insatiable sensual seducer, but, on the contrary, a myth of the white man's pilgrimage of pain in search of a woman who is his peer in spirit and in truth. This old legend is therefore exclusively European—in the East, where no problem is involved in a man's taking all the women he can get, and where he does so as a matter of course, such a story, which in addition treats Don Juan as culpable for the misfortunes his vain searching brings upon women,† would be quite unthinkable.

* Mr. H. G. Wells proposed, in an article which appeared in *Politiken* (Copenhagen), April 7, 1924, that the franchise age should be further reduced for both sexes to—fourteen years. Well, why not? The children already rule the mother, and through her the father, in European and American communities; so why not give them the *direct* suffrage as well, that everything in our present civilization may be made perfect in folly!

† In later adaptations, partly under religious influence, this is misunderstood as infidelity on *his* part.

The original, the real Don Juan, is therefore not a polygynist who tramples women under foot, but, on the contrary, a man who is unique in having concentrated in himself the idealistic needs of the whole white race, and who seeks with diabolical force to find and possess all this concentrated in *one* woman, and is therefore continually driven on and on with every fresh disappointment, which is inevitable precisely because of his demanding equality and mutuality. While most other men pretty soon come to terms with the woman they have got, in growing recognition of the fact that neither she nor any other can be more than a fraction of what they originally imagined and needed—or while at a pinch they spread these psychical needs over several such fractions—the Don Juan psyche insists on the whole in *one* person; and in this he alone can be called the incarnate monogamist, even if to an external view he is driven to love hundreds—all of them. This is why, in the old legend as well as in reality, he is a profoundly tragic figure.

And if nobody else knows this, the women know it themselves. Not one of them, certainly not one of those Don Juan loved, has really anything to say against him, whom indeed they understand better than any other male type; for it is characteristic of the typical woman that she is by nature perfectly conscious of her natural imperfection, and—whatever she may *say*—thoroughly despises in her heart of hearts the exaggerated worshipper, while there is a secret freemasonry, a profound and inviolable understanding and solidarity between her and the true Don Juan.

The Danish composer August Enna has erected a

fine memorial to this true interpretation of the legend in his recent (1922) opera, *Don Juan Marana.* Here Don Juan is killed in an attempt to defend his final, ideal conquest, symbolized in the nun Agatha, against the torturers of the Inquisition. At the gates of Heaven he is condemned by the Archangel Michael to eternal flames and torments, and Michael calls the hundreds of women seduced by Don Juan, and now assembled about the heavenly throne, to witness against him. But not one of them will accuse him, to whom in spite of all they owe the only *complete* happiness they found on earth; and as they all intercede for him, all for one and one for all, they are at last permitted to descend into Hell to release Don Juan from the clutches of Satan.—" What has he done? " they say; " he only loved us more than other men, and it was due to our shortcomings, not his, that that love was unhappy." *

But apart from this the white man has come off badly, precisely because he has loved his woman, whether she deserved it or not, more and better than the men of any other race; was indeed the only one to reserve for her monogamous, lifelong, practically indissoluble marriage. For what has he got for it?

One thing is certain: if the treatment she now gives him—and which, if it develops further in the same direction, will change marriage into a hell upon

* At about the same time the Czecho-German composer von Reznicek attempted to adapt the legend of Bluebeard in the same spirit. In this, however, he was not entirely successful, as the libretto is dramatically obscure. Nevertheless the music to which he has set it is among the best of recent years (the opera was performed at Berlin in 1922), if one excepts the nowadays inevitable mass effects.

earth—is the reward he has earned, then he has earned it by his exaggerated, unnatural homage and his uncalled-for deference to her and her frivolous agitation. And if his intellect now at the eleventh hour does not recognize the true nature and extent of the danger, and oppose it in a sweeping reaction against all this farrago of Feminism, pernicious alike to Man, Woman and Child, fatal to culture as no other "movement," a curse and a poison to all that has been built up in the sweat and blood of our race for the security of mankind's frail life upon earth—well, then the white man has seen his best days. And this time the break-up will be due to his having carried to excess two of his noblest and most honourable virtues: his trust in Woman's good qualities, and his leniency, born of the sense of strength, towards her weaknesses—till these virtues became vices,* amid which his civilization will languish, to the advantage of the many other races among whom more natural relations between the sexes are still prevalent and contribute more than anything else to give their cultures just that stability which is lacking in ours.

* "When is it a virtue to be good-natured?" my father asked me one day when, as a boy of ten, I was out for a walk with him. "Always, isn't it, Father?" I replied.—"Yes, my boy, I thought so too when I was young," he said quietly. But there was a modulation in his tone which I did not understand and yet—or perhaps for that very reason?—never forgot, though we never spoke about it again (he died long before I was grown up). But to this incident I owe my comprehension of all these problems, which was not to mature till thirty years later; and for this reason, if for no other, I am impelled to dedicate this work to my father.

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